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Demosthenes

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1844

DEMOSTHENES

ON THE CROWN



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THE ORATION
OF
DEMOSTHENES
ON THE CROWN

WITH
AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION
INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND INDICES

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PREFACE.

THE present text follows that of Baiter and Sauppe (Zurich, 1841), which is prescribed by the Board of Studies at Oxford. A few misprints have been corrected: in § 129 τῷ Καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι has been, on excellent authority, altered to τῷ καλαμίτῃ ἥρωι, and in several places the punctuation has been changed; but in every case warning of the change is given in the notes.

The Zurich editors base their edition on the Parisian MS. known as Σ. This is admittedly the best MS. of Demosthenes; but, that it should not be considered exclusively correct and infallible, has been shown by Shilleto, among others, in his critical annotations to the *De Falsa Legatione*. In the present speech it often omits words and phrases, found in most other MSS., which, so far as internal evidence goes, are genuine, that is to say, are apposite, and sometimes necessary, to the sense. Hence the readings of Dindorf (Leipzig, 1874), who takes a view rather different from that of the Zurich editors, and perhaps juster, of the authority of Σ, have been stated in the notes throughout the speech; and other variants, which seemed important or instructive, have been added.

References, in the notes, to other speeches of Demosthenes are given by the sections and pages of the same edition of Dindorf, which are those generally adopted. In the case of the *De Falsa Legatione* I have, for the sake of convenience, given the sections of Shilleto, of course retaining the page.

Several of the notes—which I have tried to make as concise as possible—may appear unnecessary to a scholar; but they have been inserted for the practical reason that the obstacles they should remove have been felt by some of the many pupils with whom I have read this speech.

The main difficulty which Demosthenes presents to the student lies in the close logical connection of his arguments; and most commentaries consist largely of translation or paraphrase. Paraphrase is dangerous, as it may lead a novice to a belief that he quite understands a piece of Latin or Greek, when he is some way from doing so. I have, therefore, taken the bull by the horns, and have given a continuous rendering, as close as I could decently make it. Nobody, I trust, will rest satisfied with this, but will by all means improve on it, as a translation. Its aim is purely commentatorial—to save its weight in notes. It is intended to show what Demosthenes said, but not how well he said it. And, I may say, I believe that every lecturer and tutor in Oxford will admit that an undergraduate, or sixth-form boy, cannot get full value out of reading the *De Corona* without such help.

In the first part of the Introduction will be found a sketch of Athenian history, as far as is necessary for the thorough understanding of this Oration. In the second portion, a precis of the oration of Aeschines, as well as of that of Demosthenes, is prefixed to a brief analysis of the two speeches considered as an attack and a defence. To read Demosthenes without knowing the circumstances under which he spoke, and the quality of his antagonists, is to miss half the interest; for above all things that are remarkable in him as an orator are his mastery of a situation and the breadth and intensity of his reasoning.

A further relief has been given to the notes by collecting

the various uses of the more notable words and phrases in an Index (II), where I hope they will be found more concisely and more profitably exhibited than if they had appeared in detached portions. This index is also intended to be tolerably complete. 'Dominantia verba,' which occur often without any definable variation of meaning, I have, as a rule, only entered once or twice; but I have departed from this rule pretty frequently where a word, though common, might help as a key to a passage of interest. In this way I trust that Index II will give a fair view of the vocabulary employed by Demosthenes in this speech. For purposes of composition this should be useful; for the vocabulary is the half of a style.

OXFORD, 1881.



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CORRIGENDA.

Page 57, line 5 from bottom, *dele* See . . . *πρυτάνεις*

„ 79 „ 2 „ „ *for* 345 *read* 355

„ 125 „ 7 „ „ *for* i.e. *read* or,

„ 131 „ 11 „ top, *for* means *read* men

„ 135 „ 3 „ „ *for* that *read* because

„ „ „ 8 „ „ *for* 'Αθήνησιν *read* 'Αθήνησιν

„ „ „ 14 „ „ *for* πολιτεύη *read* πολιτεύη

„ 150 „ 8 „ bottom, *for* 297 *read* 291

„ 182 „ 15 „ top, *for* βραδυτήτας *read* βραδύτητας

„ 193 „ 15 „ bottom, *insert* by *before* similar

„ 199 „ 9 „ top, *for* or *read* nor that I

„ 201 „ 6 „ bottom, *after* capricious. *add* For νομίμοις, cf. c. Aristocr.

§ 70, p. 643.

„ 209 „ 14 „ top, *for* your *read* their

„ 224 „ 4 „ „ *for* ἀπνευστί. *read* ἀπνευστι,

„ 225 „ 10 „ bottom, *for* patriotic *read* statesmanlike

INTRODUCTION.

I.

ATHENS FROM THE CLOSE OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE BATTLE OF CHAERONEA.

THE growth of the Athenian empire was an outcome of that coalition of the Greek states which had been caused by the danger of invasion from the East. Its fall meant the disintegration of Greece, and the return of the different Greek communities to their old jealousies, and their old policies of selfish league or isolation. There was left, however, at Athens, the tradition of a hundred years of gallant deeds, the memory of a preeminence fairly acquired and fairly held, and a sentiment which connected Athenian hegemony with the championship of Greece against the foreigner—a sentiment which lived, though it burned low, for sixty years, until it was fanned into flame once more by Demosthenes, and, when then it was extinguished, Greek liberty was dead.

The history of Hellas, as a whole, from the close of the Peloponnesian war to the beginning of the domination of Macedon, is a tangled skein. It is necessary, however, in order to understand the Speech on the Crown, only to trace the thread that belongs to Athens, discovering her contact with the changing combinations and transient supremacies, among the Hellenic states, which mark this period.

The autocracy of Sparta, and the rise and decline of Thebes.

Athens recovered her democracy in the memorable year 403 B.C. But her walls were demolished, her fleet destroyed, her subjects and allies gone from her, her citizens thinned in number by misery, war, and faction; and forty years elapsed before she could venture to play a leading part in Hellenic affairs.

In these, at first, Sparta was naturally predominant. All the cities of the old Ionian confederacy were held in her grip by means

of Laconising oligarchs and Lacedaemonian governors; and the successes of Agesilaus in Asia Minor brought her both prestige and plunder. But growing hatred of the arrogance of Spartan rule, aided by the influence of Persian gold, shrewdly distributed about the Greek world, soon caused an eruption. By 394 B.C., Thebes, Corinth, and Argos were in league against Lacedaemon and Phocis, and hostilities had begun. Athens, joining the league, took an active share. Athenian forces were at Haliartus when King Pausanias arrived too late to save Lysander, were despatched subsequently to Corinth, and fought against Agesilaus at Coronea; later, sallying from Corinth, the light troops of the Athenian Iphicrates annihilated a whole *μῶρα* of Spartan hoplites. The maritime power of Lacedaemon, and her influence on the Aegean, were lost after the defeat sustained at Cnidos. Conon, too, coming home with the Persian fleet, obtained from Pharnabazus permission and help to rebuild the Long Walls and re-fortify the Piraeus: and Athenian squadrons under Thrasybulus and Iphicrates did something to regain the position of Athens on the Hellespont.

At last, however, Sparta closed a seven years' war by the disgraceful compromise with Persia, known as the PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS (387 B.C.). This act surrendered all the Greek cities in Asia Minor, with Clazomenae and Cyprus, to the Persian king, and allowed him to dictate a general pacification. All the Greek states were to be independent. Athens might keep the small islands, Lemnos, Imbros, Scyros. Thebes lost her command of Boeotia. Sparta, as protector of the peace, backed by a strong alliance, was secured in her hegemony.

The bad faith of the Spartans was soon apparent. Beginning in Boeotia, they used every effort of fraud and force to create a 'ring' of oligarchical governments, closely bound and subservient to themselves; and in this they succeeded. The treacherous seizure and retention of the Cadmea, the citadel of Thebes itself in 382 B.C., and the reduction of the cities of the Olynthiac Union in 379 B.C., left them autocrats of Hellas, supported by the despoticisms of Persia, Macedon, and Syracuse.

Their success was short-lived. It was an outrage to Hellenic sentiment.

In the same year (379 B.C.) Theban exiles, operating from

Athens, were able, by a daring stratagem, to destroy the oligarchy at Thebes, and expel the Lacedaemonian garrison. The new Theban magistracy, led by Pelopidas and Epaminondas, declared war against Sparta, and for seven years received assistance, especially maritime, from Athens, until the Spartans were wholly driven from Boeotia.

Offended, however, at the sharp reprisals taken by the Thebans on Thespieae and Plataea, and traditionally jealous of Theban successes, the Athenians at length struck with Sparta the *PEACE OF CALLIAS* (371 B.C.), by which Sparta called home all her harmosts and garrisons, and Athens her fleet. From this peace Thebes was excluded.

Thus Thebes was left to fight single-handed. A Lacedaemonian army was in Phocis, under king Cleombrotus. But the peace of Callias was not three weeks old, when the genius of Epaminondas dealt, in his complete victory at *LEUCTRA*, a surprising but crushing blow to the military prestige of Sparta.

The loss to Sparta was much more than the loss of a battle. The defeated forces, indeed, were allowed to leave Boeotia undisturbed, owing to the advice of Jason, tyrant of Pherae and tagus ('federal general') of Thessaly (a man remarkable as a prototype of Philip), whose aid the Thebans had invited; but all the ascendancy hitherto held by Sparta in northern Greece was divided between Jason and Thebes.

The Theban Hegemony dated from Leuctra. Next year Epaminondas pressed into the Peloponnese at the head of a great army of allies, and invaded Laconia, but was dissuaded, by the vigorous defence of Agesilaus, from persisting in his attempt. His other measures were, perhaps, as disastrous to Sparta as an occupation of the city would have been. On the north, breaking up the old Peloponnesian alliance, he formed all Arcadia into a strong federate whole, meeting in synod at the newly-founded Megalopolis: on the west, he reinstated the long-dispersed Messenians in their old country. Thus broken and hemmed in, the Spartans turned to Athens, formally resigning their claims to primacy; and were received by her into alliance—a relation which was destined to be permanent.

Athens, in order to preserve the balance of power, had, soon

after 378 B.C., formed a confederacy, consisting both of Peloponnesian states, and, still more largely, of her old maritime allies. She had also augmented her navy, and by her victory over the Lacedaemonian fleet at Naxos (376 B.C.) was once more mistress of the sea.

The Thebans, for nine years, continued to increase in power, and their leadership received royal sanction from Persia. Their most important military operations were in Thessaly. These were directed against Alexander of Pherae, a corrupt successor of Jason, and covered about five years, during which the despot received occasional aid from Athens. Finally defeated at the battle of Cynoscephalae (where Pelopidas fell), he became a subject ally of Thebes, and afterwards chiefly distinguished himself by acts of piracy in the Aegaeon, on one occasion plundering the Piraeus. Thebes was now paramount in Thessaly, extending in influence as far as Macedonia.

The Euboeans, who had taken part in the Anti-Spartan league, sided with Thebes at the beginning of her supremacy, but, later, fell into divisions; and in many cities tyrants started up, who were guided in their political attachments by purely personal motives. One of these, Themison of Eretria, put Oropus into the hands of the Thebans, who delayed to restore the city to Athens, owing to its advantageous position with regard to Euboea. Thebes coveted the possession of that island as the only opening by which she could realise her ambition of becoming a naval power. Some maritime operations against Athens were, indeed, actually begun (363 B.C.) under Epaminondas, with promising success; but they ceased at his death.

In 362 the disturbances that had arisen, some time back, between Elis and Arcadia, in which Mantinea and Sparta had taken the side of the former, seemed to threaten the safety of the new Arcadian confederacy. Epaminondas crossed into the Peloponnese to support the Theban party, and met and routed the enemy at MANTINEA. He was mortally wounded himself. His irreparable loss, added to his dying injunction that peace should be made, put an end to hostilities; and a general pacification ensued.

Though victorious at Mantinea, the Thebans had not bettered their position: or rather the decline of their active influence over

their confederates may be dated from that battle. Phocis had sent no contingent. The reduction of the old autonomous cities in Boeotia, especially Orchomenus, must have excited general indignation. Yet worse, the two great Theban generals and statesmen were now dead, and their places were never filled. Still Thebes was strong. She was sovereign in Boeotia. She held Oropus. Most of Euboea, Thessaly, and the northern and western states were in friendly union with her. In the Peloponnese, Sparta was degraded, and, with Elis, was kept in check by the new Arcadia and Messene; Argos, too, was Theban; Corinth, Sicyon, and the other cities to the north-east, were isolated and neutral.

She had only one rival, Athens. By the close of this period (c. 360 B.C.) the Athenians had recovered much of their old commercial prosperity: their fleet was the most powerful in Greece; they were at the head of a large insular alliance, and possessed, of their own right, Pydna, Potidaea, Methone, together with Samos and valuable conquests in the Thracian Chersonese.

From the accession of Philip to his first advance into Thessaly.

The rival states met in Euboea. In 358 B.C. the Thebans were in possession of the island. Moved by a sudden impulse the Athenians resolved to assert their claims. Volunteers took upon themselves the trierarchies.¹ In five days an expedition was prepared: in thirty days the Thebans were compelled to evacuate all Euboea, which then joined the Athenian confederacy, sending members to the synod and subsidies to the common fund.

Athens was now at her zenith. But a rapid declension followed in the next five years, to which two causes mainly contributed.

The first was the Social War (357–355 B.C.). Athens had selfishly appropriated to her own citizens the acquisitions made by the help of her allies; her own contingents had consisted of mercenaries, whose employment led to extortion and rapine. She had also robbed Byzantium of its port dues. Chios, as oligarchical, had never been in full sympathy with her. The Carian prince, Mausolus, established an oligarchy at Rhodes, and occupied Cos.

¹ See note on § 102 of this Speech.

These four states seceded. Athens, in her attempts to reclaim them by force, was unfortunate. She met with repulses at Chios and at Byzantium, and lost the services of her best commanders—the gallant Chabrias having been killed at Samos; and Timotheus fined, Iphicrates driven into retirement, on the representations of their less competent colleague Chares. In 355 B.C. the threat of Persian interference brought the war to an end, and Athens recognised the independence of the seceding cities.

The second cause, operating simultaneously with the Social War, and furthered by the distraction of Athenian activity which that occasioned, was the aggression of Philip.

As an hostage for the amity of Macedon, he had spent some years at Thebes, and had there enjoyed the example and society of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. The death of his brother Perdiccas forced him, amid a crowd of competitors, to the Macedonian throne (359 B.C.) in his twenty-fourth year. During the earlier portion of his reign he had, again and again, to meet in battle or to treat with his traditionary enemies and neighbours in Thrace, Illyria, and Paeonia.

He first came into contact with the Athenians as the supporters of Argæus, a rival to the Macedonian sceptre. To them he offered Amphipolis, the ‘jewel of their old empire,’ which they had for more than sixty years longed to regain; and, when he crushed Argæus, he sent home the Athenian volunteers who had served under that pretender, with the kindest treatment and the most friendly offers. Peace was concluded between Macedon and Athens; but the latter power, perhaps owing to her occupations in the Chersonese, neglected Amphipolis for more than a year.

In the meantime Philip had grown strong in his relations with the neighbouring inland nations. At the end of the year 358 B.C. he laid siege to Amphipolis, which indeed had belonged to him as little as to the Athenians. The people of Amphipolis besought Athenian help. Philip, on the other hand, declared that he desired the possession of that city in order to complete its surrender to Athens; and Athens, with a fatal credulity, believed him. Philip then achieved its capture—an achievement that gave him the auriferous regions of Pangæus, worth, as he worked them, a thousand talents annually. Deluding Athens with assurances, never to

be fulfilled, he further led her, thanks to the gold he had now begun to employ as a diplomatic agent, and through the mouthpiece of Athenian speakers (who talked mysteriously of his willingness to exchange Amphipolis for the once-Macedonian Pydna), to reject a proffered alliance with Olynthus, now—after emancipation from Sparta—the head of a union of thirty-four cities. His next step was to propitiate Olynthus by the present of the district of Anthemus, and subsequently of the important Potidaea. Pydna he took for himself (356 B.C.), and henceforward considered himself free from any obligations to Athens in the matter of Amphipolis. Such were the beginnings of the 'war about Amphipolis,' which lasted for some twelve years (till 346 B.C.), without any formal peace. Athens was obstructed by her own negligence, by the reluctance of her citizens to serve in person, and by the misconduct of her mercenaries (owing largely to her own failure in their payment), as well as by the Social War. Chares, indeed, for a time obtained some successes in the Hellespont, and obliged the Thracian prince Cersobleptes to become an Athenian ally, surrendering all his possessions in the Chersonese except Cardia. On the other hand Philip besieged Methone, the last standpoint of Athens on the Macedonian coast, and captured it 353 B.C.

Thebes, also, in the interval, had fallen into trouble. Soon after Leuctra she had revived the long dormant Amphictyonic Council,¹ and, by her influence among the representatives of the northern tribes who formed a majority in that Council, had caused a heavy fine to be inflicted on the Lacedaemonians for their seizure of the Cadmea. In 357 B.C. she succeeded in obtaining a similar sentence against the Phocians, towards whom she had for six or seven years entertained grudges, on account of an alleged sacrilegious trespass on the demesne of Apollo. Neither fine, of course, was paid. In the latter case, the Phocians, as defaulters, were doomed by the Council to elimination. In response, Phocis, roused by Philomelus, seized Delphi, once part of the Phocian estate, and defeated an assault of Amphiissan Locrians. Thus began the SACRED WAR, which paved Philip's way to the mastery over Hellas. The Thebans, together with the northern

¹ See note on this Speech, § 143.

Amphictyonic tribes, took arms against Phocis: Athens and Sparta gave her promises of help, but, as it proved—owing perhaps, later, to the impious malappropriation of the Delphic treasures by the Phocian commanders—gave little more than promises. Chequered campaigns, lasting over several yaers, ensued. Philomelus, on his death, was succeeded by Onomarchus, who made himself master of the district of Thermopylae and allied himself with Lycophron, the new despot of Pherae. Lycophron's foes, the Aleuads, or ancient houses of Thessaly, provoked by his encroachments, were instigated by Eudicus and Simus, of Larissa, to solicit the help of Philip, who was now (353 B.C.) at Methone.

Philip marched into Thessaly, and took Pagasae—an Athenian fleet arriving too late to save that port—and defeated Phayllus, brother and subordinate of Onomarchus. On the arrival, however, of Onomarchus in person, he was twice defeated by the Phocian commander, and withdrew—in his own words 'retiring, like a battering-ram, to be more terrible in his return'—to his own kingdom.

From the beginning of Demosthenes' public life to the end of the Olynthiac war.

In the interval, the Phocians were at the high flood of their fortunes, the Thebans at a low ebb. Sparta, catching at the opportunity, tried to reassert herself in Messenia and Arcadia. Envoys, laden with alluring promises, were sent by her to Athens, and were there met by a rival embassy from Megalopolis.

The debate in the Athenian assembly was hot, and Demosthenes took part in it. His general principle, in the oration pro Megalopolitanis, was that both Sparta and Thebes should be kept weak, and he recommended that Athens herself should assume the protectorate of Arcadia, in place of Thebes, maintaining the independence of Megalopolis against Lacedaemon. His advice, however, does not seem to have prevailed, as nothing was done in the matter.

He had begun public life the year before (354 B.C.) by a speech, de Symmoriis, on the occasion of a panic caused by rumours of a Persian invasion; and he had struck the same keynote in which his

subsequent speeches, the *Philippics* and *Olynthiacs*, are written. At present, he said, Athens had no grounds for fear, but must bestir herself. As the traditionary champion of Pan-Hellenic liberty, she must be prepared for emergencies. Then followed definite suggestions for the improvement of her means and forces. This first speech is marked by strong patriotism, by appeals to his country to act up to her noblest past, by a thorough grasp of the situation, and by practical wisdom. It also contained some very plain-speaking about the political failings of his countrymen, and these were serious.

The Athenian citizen had wholly changed from the type eulogised by Pericles. 'Pugnacity, Pan-Hellenic championship, and the love of adventure, had died within him' (Grote). They had been succeeded by a home-keeping spirit, a love of the pleasures of city life, the taste for trade, and a constraining indisposition for the burdens of personal military service, made worse by a backwardness even to pay for substitutes. Owing to the decline of the 'citizen militia,' soldiership had become a profession, filled by adventurers, penniless, hopeless, and homeless. These roving mercenaries, for whom there was now little outlet in the way of emigration, were a misfortune to the whole of Greece. At Athens, apathy and the aversion to a vigorous foreign policy fostered the growth of a peace-at-any-price party, led by the orator Eubulus, and the 'perpetual general' Phocion, a blunt, sarcastic man, respected universally for his integrity, but a pronounced pessimist.

Such an Athens was soon to be brought into conflict with Philip. In neither of the above orations is he even named by Demosthenes; yet he had already created, out of the excellent raw material found in the poor and rude shepherds of Macedonia, a large standing army, continually exercised in the field of battle, and organised with a splendid military genius which had been trained ? in the school of Epaminondas.

The Thebans had taken the field again, but had suffered reverses at the hands of Onomarchus, who captured Coronea, when Philip re-appeared in arms in Thessaly. He proclaimed that he was come to destroy Pheraean tyranny, to administer vengeance on Phocian impiety, and to restore to the Amphictyons their Pylæan synod. He was joined by the Thessalians at large. Onomarchus

united with Lycophron, and a battle took place (352 B.C.) near Pagasae, in sight of an Athenian fleet which lay off the coast. The forces of Onomarchus were routed with great slaughter, their commander himself being among the slain; and the defeat was followed by the expulsion of Lycophron, who transferred his mercenaries to Phocis. Philip then besieged and took Pagasae, Athenian help coming to the relief too late, and marched southwards to Thermopylae. There, by an extraordinary effort, the Athenians, under Nausicles, had already manned the Pass. They were supported later by auxiliaries from Sparta and Achaea; and Philip found himself obliged to retreat. So southern Greece was saved for the moment. But Philip soon made himself master of Thessaly (352-350 B.C.). He had also acquired a considerable naval power; and, while he himself passed northwards to carry on aggressive operations in Thrace, his flying squadrons descended on the Athenian islands, on Euboea, even on the coast of Marathon (where they made prize of a sacred galley), and did incalculable damage to Athenian commerce.

Phayllus continued the war against Thebes with varying success. On his death (351 B.C.) he was succeeded by Phalaecus. The scene was for a time changed to the Peloponnese, where the Phocians assisted Lacedaemon against Arcadia and Messene, the latter reinforced by Theban troops; but no result ensued, except an increase of ill-feeling on either side. As the campaigns proceeded under Phalaecus, Phocis was ravaged. Pangs of remorse, made keener as the Delphic treasures were becoming exhausted, arose in that country; and Phalaecus fell into disfavour. Still Phocis retained her hold upon Boeotia; and Thebes grew impoverished both in men and means, owing to the protraction of the war.

Philip was now recognised as formidable by Greece at large. Irritation at his successes was especially felt by Athens, the principal victim of his depredations, but issued in nothing more than the despatch of feeble mercenary expeditions and incessant complaints against the failures of the generals. When news came, at the end of 352 B.C., that the Macedonian king was attacking Heraeon-Teichos, in the close neighbourhood of the Athenian possessions in the Chersonese, preparations were, indeed, begun for a great armament; but the news of his sickness and rumours of his death

led to a relaxation of the effort. It was now that Demosthenes delivered his first Philippic. He recognised the danger to be apprehended from Macedon, but saw that there was yet time to prevent it. After showing that the late humiliations of Athens were due to the culpable negligence of her citizens, who acted in strange contrast with the unresting vigour of the enemy, he proposed the formation of two great forces, one for continuous operations, having its headquarters at some convenient centre in the Aegean, the other to be kept as a reserve at home, but ready to move at a moment's notice ; and he exhibited a financial scheme by which the necessary funds could be provided. Above all, he insisted on the personal service of a large proportion of Athenian citizens. Probably he had against him the elder statesmen who belonged to the peace party, and perhaps, by this time, paid agents of Philip. At any rate, all the action taken was to send out a ridiculously small and ill-provided fleet, under the mercenary chief Charidemus.

The years 352—347 B.C. witnessed an advance of the Macedonian power as rapid and deadly as it had been unexpected. Philip was absent himself from Greece, during the earlier portion, at least, of this period ; but his officers were active, and his gold omnipresent. Great as a general, he was greater as a diplomatist. He had a keen eye for the internal dissensions of his enemies, and a skilful hand in fomenting them. It may perhaps be said that, after his first success against the Phocians, he never attacked a city in which there was not already an organised minority politically and personally interested in his cause. No town was impregnable, he said himself, to which an ass, laden with gold, could climb. To his credit, on attaining his objects, he generally showed scant courtesy to such unpatriotic servants of his ambition.

These years were especially disastrous to Athens in her relations with Chalcidice and Euboea.

Olynthus had seceded from her anti-Athenian alliance with Philip in 352 B.C. Philip did not begin serious operations against the Olynthiac Confederacy till 350 B.C. But by 347 B.C. his seductions and his armies had laid in ruins thirty-two free Greek cities.

Demosthenes delivered his Olynthiac Orations (350 B.C.) after his city had united with Olynthus. The order of these speeches

is uncertain. Grote makes that which is numbered II in the editions first in time. In this oration Demosthenes dwelt on the importance of the Olynthiac alliance, and pointed out signs and germs of decay in Philip's power: yet, on the other hand, he insisted that Athens must reform her finances, and every citizen do his duty to the full. Demosthenes, it must be remembered, was still 'in opposition,' and no steps were taken by the city. Before the delivery of what is, probably, the next speech, (numbered I), things had grown worse for Chalcidice. Demosthenes now vehemently demanded that help should be sent to Olynthus, and that Philip should also be attacked at home. If the Theoric fund could not be touched, then extraordinary subscriptions must be raised—for money must be had—and must be supplemented by personal service. At this juncture, mercenaries were sent by Athens to Chalcidice, and achieved some successes there, which flattered Athenian pride, and threatened to confirm Athenian inaction. In the third Olynthiac (III) Demosthenes warned his countrymen not to be deluded—Philip was not beaten yet—and he even ventured to advise distinctly the diversion of the Theoric fund from holiday purposes to more serious needs. This speech must have been as unpopular as it is splendid. As before, Athenians were deaf to their best adviser.

Macedonian influence in Euboea was won mainly by intrigue, beginning 349 B.C. Disturbances at Eretria drew the Athenians thither, under Phocion, who found himself surrounded by treachery. The bad faith of Callias of Chalcis, in particular, led him into straits at Tamynae, from which his troops only extricated themselves by signal valour. A further expedition was accompanied by Demosthenes—who had strongly disapproved of the first, his non-participation in which had, indeed, laid him open to a charge of *λιποταξία*.

Euboea, however, continued unfriendly to Athens, in spite of the great efforts made by the latter, during the next two years, to regain her position in the island. Similar efforts were made to help Olynthus—a decree was even passed, though afterwards invalidated, to apply the Theoric fund to the purposes of war—with similar non-success. The Macedonian arms (348–347 B.C.) 'finished the business of Olynthus,' most thoroughly. Exiles, and

trains of enslaved captives, from Chalcidice, were sights common in southern Greece, and excited both pity and indignation. Philip himself was triumphant, and held, in his own kingdom, a grand Olympic festival, at which rewards, gifts, and favours were lavishly distributed.

Events leading to the Peace of Philocrates, and its consequences.

Among the captives taken and retained in the Olynthiac war by the Macedonian generals were Athenian citizens of importance; and the private petitions and general desire for their restoration raised much emotion in the assemblies of Athens 347 B.C. More than this, her Aegean possessions were threatened; and the feeling thus aroused was embittered by all the wrong-doings of Macedon during a war now extending over some twelve years. So, for a moment, even the peace party woke up. Envoys were sent throughout Hellas, especially in the Peloponnese, to raise a crusade against Philip. Among them, Aeschines (now a soldier of repute, with distinctions won at Phlius, Mantinea, Tamynae, and a rising orator) went to Megalopolis. Here, he declares, his eloquence was thwarted by Philip's creatures, especially one Hieronymus; and his experience was probably typical. The gold-mines of Philippi had pushed their products throughout the independent cities of Greece: political selfishness and shortsightedness still reigned in these: and Athens found that no active cooperation of the Greeks at large, even against a common enemy, could be hoped for. Peace, therefore, seemed to be a necessity. It was preached by Eubulus and by Aeschines. Isocrates had even begun to accept Philip as the arbiter of the destinies of Greece, and to urge him to proceed in the name of all Hellas to the extermination of the ancient foe, Persia. Demosthenes was helpless to stem such a tide of feeling, and was obliged to acquiesce. On his return from Euboea he had become a member of the senate, and as such, certain formal duties fell on him which were afterwards made grounds of unfounded accusation against him.

Further inducements towards a reconciliation with Macedonia supervened. Philip seems always to have entertained a kindly

feeling towards Athens, due probably to a respect for her past glories, and, still more, to his appreciation of her eminence in letters and in art; and he was on terms of friendship with her leading actors and philosophers. He was not a man to be carried out of his way by sentiment: indeed he appropriated Athenian possessions, whenever they stood in his path, or promised him advantage, without hesitation. But, his ends secured, he always sought, by every courtesy that political exigencies allowed, to show a good-will to Athens which was in marked contrast to his treatment of other, even Hellenic, states and cities. When other motives coincided with this feeling of regard, his amiability towards Athens was profuse. Some instances of the sort, occurring at the present conjuncture, helped very much to bring about his politic peace.

Peace had already been mooted, in 348 B.C., by envoys from Euboea to Athens, who made it their business to communicate the good dispositions of Philip. A certain Athenian citizen, Phrynon, who had been captured at sea by a Macedonian cruiser during the Olympiac truce, and had been obliged to purchase his deliverance, obtained from the Assembly a deputy, Ctesiphon, to go with him to reclaim his ransom: they returned successful, and both were loud in the praises of the Macedonian king. Philocrates, the prime mover in all the subsequent negotiations, passed a decree which gave Philip permission to send a herald and envoys; and, in a prosecution which was brought against him, he was acquitted by the advocacy of Demosthenes, who was probably unaware, as yet, of the corrupt Philippism of his client. Philip did not avail himself of the decree, waiting for a better opportunity. Next year the actor Aristodemus, sent to treat for the restoration of the Athenian captives, came back, accompanied by a citizen of note, Iatrocles, whose release had been granted without ransom; and formally announced, both before the senate and in the assembly, Philip's friendliness towards the city, and his desire not only for peace but also alliance with her.

Simultaneously, or soon after, the total failure of the missions to the Peloponnese was learnt. News came of the growing impoverishment and the internal dissensions of Phocis, the latter resulting in the formal deposition of Phalaecus; who nevertheless,

as a matter of fact, retained command of the forces lying in Locris. Attempts that had been made by Athens to form a union with Thebes were also fruitless. Worse than all, the Thebans, worn out by the long Sacred War, took a most fatal step—fatal eventually, not only to themselves, but to the independence of all Hellas—and called in the aid, which was only too readily granted, and only too near at hand, of Philip. When, on this, Phocis cried for succour, the insubordinate Phalaecus rejected with insults the support which promptly reached him from Athens and Sparta.

Still Philip dared not try the Pass of Thermopylae. He might hope to do so with success if he could but secure the neutrality of Athens, and so have the Phocians alone left in the field against him. Desire for rest on the part of the Athenians, anxiety for their countrymen who remained in captivity, their lack of allies, their besetting improvidence, and the shameless corruption and startling mendacity of some of their leading men, all worked together for him, and he achieved the notorious *PEACE* of *PHILOCRATES* (346 B.C.).

The incidents of the conclusion of this peace led three years later to the trial ‘Concerning the Dishonest Embassy’ (*περὶ τῆς Παράπειρας*), on which Aeschines won a bare acquittal against the charges of Demosthenes. The orators contradict one another in many respects, and Aeschines’ speech is seriously inconsistent with his oration ‘Against Ctesiphon’ on the later trial ‘Concerning the Crown.’ As, in the year 343 B.C., Philocrates was under disgrace and an exile, and renewed irritation against Philip had lifted the war party into the ascendant at Athens, it was to the interest of both orators to clear themselves of responsibility for the peace, and of complicity with Philocrates: this they do, each accusing the other of venality and treachery. Hence the history of the peace is hard to discover in its completeness. For the present purpose, however, it is enough to state the main and admitted facts.

At the close of 347 B.C., on the motion of Philocrates, ten Athenian envoys were sent to ascertain the mind of Philip. These were Philocrates, Ctesiphon, Phrynon, Iatrocles, Aristodemus—already partisans of Philip—Dercyllus, Cimon, Nausicles, Aeschines, Demosthenes. A courteous reception awaited the ambassadors at

Pella, where they addressed Philip in turn. Aeschines declares that Demosthenes, who had made himself disagreeable during all the journey, broke down in his speech, while he himself made a great oration, which, if we accept his own account of it, was of a character remarkably inappropriate under the circumstances. At any rate, the rivalry of the two orators arose on this first embassy. Philip made his response, to the effect that he was willing to contract a peace, each party to remain *in statu quo*; and at once started for Thrace, against Cersobleptes, on the day on which he dismissed the envoys, instructing representatives of his own to proceed without delay to Athens. The envoys brought home with them a letter from Philip, couched in most amicable terms, and containing indefinite promises of good services to be done by him hereafter. Some of the envoys, in the account of their proceedings, took occasion to dwell on the hospitality, grace, and accomplishments of the Macedonian prince.

In the month of Elaphebolion 346 B.C. the Macedonian plenipotentiaries, Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus, arrived. On the 18th, Philocrates moved a decree, accepting the terms of peace between Philip and his allies on the one part, Athens and her allies on the other; but with a clause excluding the Phocians. To this clause strong objections were raised, and it was omitted when, next day, the decree was passed. The difficulty still remained, as Antipater would not tender the oaths to the Phocian deputies, and Athens would not renounce her old allies. In a few days, however, the obstacle was surmounted. The means employed were marvellous. Philocrates, and Aeschines (who now can only be looked upon as a corrupt agent of Macedon), had the effrontery to affirm that the exclusion of Phocis was a mere form, necessitated by Philip's Theban alliance. In reality Philip was anti-Theban, and would declare himself very shortly. Phocian interests would be safe in his hands. The Macedonian generals tacitly encouraged the delusion. By so gross and palpable a lie did the people of Athens, in the thirst for repose and with selfish blindness, allow themselves to be persuaded! A suggestion of the synod of the allies present at the time, to the effect that all Hellenic states, which chose to do so within three months, should be enabled to subscribe their names on the instrument, was neglected. By the 25th, Athens

took the oaths ratifying, not only peace, but alliance with Philip, in her own name and independently. Thus the Phocians were practically, though not formally, excluded.

In all this Demosthenes, however reluctantly, acquiesced. But he did his utmost to save his country from worse humiliation. On the 25th, an embassy, consisting of the same members as before, had been instructed to go at once, wherever Philip might be, and administer the oaths to him. As each party to the treaty was to retain the possessions held at the time of its ratification, haste was all important, in order to stop Philip from further conquests. His activity was indicated by the news, received next day, of his capture of the Sacred Mountain in Thrace, close to the Chersonese.

Still, on the 3rd of the next month, Munychion, the ambassadors—all by now, probably, partisans of Philip, except Demosthenes, who had taken the duty with great unwillingness—had not moved. Demosthenes procured a further decree, commanding the utmost despatch. Yet his colleagues, by constant delay, and by waiting at Pella, wasted fifty days, after leaving Attica, before they saw Philip. He had then returned, the conqueror of Thrace, to his capital; where other envoys, also, from Thebes, Sparta, Euboea, Phocis, awaited him, and a great Macedonian army was gathered. Still he was not pressed to take the oaths by the Athenian ambassadors, who discussed other matters with him, and sent home utterly fallacious reports. Demosthenes protested in vain. So great was the breach between him and his colleagues that he would have gone away had he not been prevented. Philip met the demands, and kept alive the hopes, of all parties by delusive assurances, and began his southward march. On reaching Pherae, he submitted to be sworn, publicly excluding the Phocians, but including his newly-created allies in Thrace. The ambassadors reached Athens on the 13th Scirophorion, seventy-six days after the date of the original decree passed to despatch them on their mission. Demosthenes instantly accused his fellow-envoys before the Senate, and made that body so sensible of the magnitude of the immediate danger, that it framed a measure of defence to be submitted to the assembly on the 16th. On that day, before business could be commenced, Aeschines rose, and allayed

the fears which the vicinity of Philip, now within three days' march of Thermopylae, had awaked, by a speech full of glowing promises, both explicit and vague, which met every political desire entertained at Athens. Demosthenes was hooted and laughed down. A cleverly-worded letter of Philip was read, to be followed immediately by two others in the same vein, inviting Athenian forces to join him at Thermopylae. No troops were sent, but a decree was carried by Philocrates, giving Philip every moral support. Once more the same ten ambassadors were appointed, to convey this decree to Philip: Demosthenes, however, refused to go, and Aeschines made an excuse of illness to stay behind; so others took their places.

Scarcely had these envoys reached Chalcis when they heard terrible news. Phalaecus, informed that no help would come from Athens, had made terms for himself and his troops, and surrendered the Pass on the 23rd; and all the towns of Phocis had hastened to offer their submission. Philip had joined forces with Thebes, and proclaimed a policy wholly in the Theban interest. The tidings reached Athens on the 27th, and panic efforts were made for defence against an anticipated invasion. These apprehensions were lulled by professions of good faith received from Philip, and by the long-desired restoration of the Athenian citizens, who had been captured at Olynthus, to their homes: but nothing could remove the indignation and chagrin of the Athenians at the loss of their hopes, and the ignominious failure of an ignoble policy.

Aeschines now plucked up strength to travel, and was even well enough to assist at the solemnities and festivities, with which the close of the Sacred War was celebrated by the Thebans, Thessalians, and Macedonians in Phocis. There Philip was master: he commanded a great allied army, and was venerated as the defender of religion, victorious without striking a blow. After placing the temple of Apollo once more in the hands of the Delphians, he convened the Amphictyonic Council, which had not met for ten years. The Amphictyons showed their gratitude to Philip by electing him member of the Sacred League, and investing him with the votes which they took from the excommunicated Phocians. They proceeded to fix and pronounce the doom of that unhappy

people, of whom such as possessed the means had already gone into exile with Phalaecus, or sought asylum. The sentence was hard. The Phocian cities were to be razed to the ground; the inhabitants to be disarmed and dispersed among small hamlets, the size and situation of which were regulated by severe restrictions. They were still allowed to till most of their lands, subject however to an annual fine of fifty talents, to be paid to the god at Delphi. The execution of this sentence was left to old and bitter enemies, such as the Thebans and Thessalians, who committed atrocious excesses of butchery and rapine in its name. For years afterwards Phocis was a spectacle that filled the traveller with awe and pity. Ruins of houses and walls lay among starved fields. It was a land where you could not meet a man in the prime of life—only old men and women and a few little children, whose misery no words could express.

From the renewal of hostilities to Chaeronea.

Thebes had little solid reason for self-congratulation. Her vengeance, perhaps, was satisfied; certainly a long and harassing war was over; and something of her old pre-eminence in Boeotia was restored. But her victory was, in a political sense, Cadmean. She was utterly dwarfed and obscured by the magnitude and splendour of the position of Philip. He showed no inclination to retire. He held, in Thermopylae, the keys of Greece, and he never relinquished them. While he strengthened himself, nearer home, by a reorganisation of Thessaly, and by vigorous movements against his more northern neighbours, he was incessantly and ubiquitously active, especially in intrigue, throughout the whole of Hellas. Everywhere his partisans grew into parties. Greece was divided; and no recombination was conceivably possible, except under the leadership of Athens.

At Athens, indeed, Philocrates had preached peace when there was no peace. His treaty lasted, formally, from 346 to 340 B.C.,—practically, for a period to be measured in weeks rather than years. At the outset, only such prudent advice as that of Demosthenes in the speech 'Concerning the Peace' (*περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης*), when he counselled his countrymen not to 'fight the

world for the shadow at Delphi,' prevented a downright refusal to recognise Philip as member, and protector, of the Amphictyonic league. But Philip's restless aggression soon caused hostilities to recommence. The details of these are not known,—in fact our only knowledge of the period is gathered from the various speeches of Demosthenes and Æschines,—but we need only mark the chief incidents.

The star of Demosthenes began to rise in the dark hour of Athens. He had, indeed, for years before, shown the strong light of truth: but the truth had been disagreeable, and had been without potency. Now his influence became felt. The exact occasion of his second Philippic is unknown. It was delivered 344–343 B.C., and is, in form, an answer to deputations from the Peloponnese, where Philip's machinations had been busy, especially among the Messenians. Demosthenes declares, most definitely, that Philip's ultimate aims were against the City. The only safeguard was contained in the one word, which he had lately, as envoy, tried to inculcate in the Peloponnese, and that was 'Distrust.' Let Athens call to account those who had inveigled her with strange promises; so strangely falsified; and, henceforth, keep watch and ward. Demosthenes' eloquence was felt even by Philip, who sent to Athens a powerful Macedonian orator, Pytho, to counteract it. Pytho carried the day with suggested alterations of the terms of peace; but, in the end, nothing came of these.

The rapid spread of Philippism¹ drove Athens first to defensive measures. She garrisoned her frontier, and secured Megara. Later, she expelled from Oreus and Eretria the tyrants whom Philip had established there, and created an independent Euboeic league, of which the most prominent member was Callias, of Chalcis, now a vigorous opponent of Macedon.

Open hostilities now began in the region of the North Aegean. Philip caused great offence by laying hands on Halonnesus (343 B.C.). His offers to *give* the island to Athens were rejected: he must *give it back*. The quarrel lasted for two years, until, in 341 B.C., the island was appropriated by the Peparethians. Resenting this, Philip sacked Peparethus, and was guilty of great cruelties there.

¹ See the list of traitors given in the Speech below, § 295.

In 342–341 B.C., Philip was in Thrace, evidently preparing his way for the acquisition of the important positions in the Chersonese. His ally, Cardia, refused to accept any portion of a number of Athenian settlers who had arrived under the command of the general Diopithes. Proffered arbitration in the dispute was declined by Athens, who could not so lightly abdicate her sovereignty in the peninsula. Diopithes, among other military movements, raided in the Macedonian districts of Thrace, and made good his return to the Chersonese before Philip could reach him. Philip sent serious complaints to Athens, where his creatures tried to procure the recall of Diopithes. This was prevented by Demosthenes. In the two Speeches, ‘Concerning the affairs of the Chersonese’ (περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ), and ‘Against Philip’ (κατὰ Φιλίππου Γ), delivered at the end of 341 B.C., he declared that the peace had never been carried out, and had long ago been broken, on the part of the Macedonian, whom he denounced as the dangerous foe both of Athens and of Hellas; and, most emphatically, he gave his sentence for open war. He had already gone on missions to the Peloponnese and to Western Greece. Now he went as envoy to Byzantium, where, by rare eloquence and diplomatic skill, he broke down the barrier of ill-feeling which had stood and grown, for nearly fifteen years, between Athens and the Byzantines, and won their alliance, as well as that of their neighbours, the Perinthians. Philip, in response, besieged Perinthus, ravaged the Chersonese, and dispatched cruisers to scour the Aegean. At length Athens formally declared war; and Philip did the same, in a long manifesto preserved among the speeches of Demosthenes (340 B.C.).

The siege of Perinthus was memorable for the magnitude of the attacking forces and the obstinacy of the defence. Relief came in the shape of a joint expedition of Athenians, Byzantines, and Persians. Philip then tried to surprise Byzantium, but was dislodged by an allied fleet under Phocion; who pressed him from point to point, and maintained a mastery over the whole sea. These naval successes must have been largely due to the trierarchic reform¹ of Demosthenes (340 B.C.). They won his city the admiration

¹ See note on § 102 of this Speech.

and gratitude of her allies ; and Demosthenes himself received a public vote of thanks. At this juncture a peace is said, by Diodorus, to have intervened ; but his statement is generally doubted. Philip, at any rate, desisted from the personal conduct of the war, and departed (339 B.C.) on his Scythian expedition.

Aeschines, during this period of Demosthenes' ascendancy, had been comparatively idle, his chief interference in politics having been a partially successful attempt to spoil the Trierarchic Law. He now wrought a mischief such, that if he foresaw the consequences—and only judicial blindness could have hid them from him—he must rank among the arch-traitors of the world's history. This was the kindling of a new SACRED WAR. As deputy in the Amphictyonic Council, held at Delphi, in the spring of 339 B.C., he accused the Amphissian Locrians of trespass on the demesne of Apollo, rousing the Council to make a violent protest, and to summon an extraordinary meeting of the members of the League to confirm and carry out a sentence of condemnation on the alleged offenders.¹ Athens, at first inclined to assist, took better advice, and stood aloof ; as did also Thebes. The operations of the Amphictyonic army were feeble in the extreme. No doubt they were intended to be so by the Macedonian agents, who were engaged in the business. These men soon performed their service, and procured that a call should be sent to Philip, as the champion of the god.

Philip, thus invited, and having a clear road before him into the heart of Greece, soon marched southwards. On the way, he transferred Nicaea, one of the defences of Thermopylae, from Theban to Thessalian hands. Then he directed his course to Elatea, which he occupied, and began to rebuild the dismantled fortifications. At the same time he sent to Thebes to announce that his intentions were against Athens, and to ask for moral, if not material, support. Thebes was the last obstacle in his path—indeed, unless she allowed him a passage through her territory, he could not touch Attica, which the superiority of the Athenian fleet rendered impregnable on the seaboard. As, however, Thebes was still unfriendly to Athens, and had lately given proofs of her

¹ Details of these proceedings are given Aeschines *Contra Ct.* §§ 107 sqq. (see below, p. xlii), and Demosthenes *de Cor.* §§ 145 sqq.

enmity by rejecting repeated overtures from that city, he had little doubt of carrying his point.

The alarm which was caused at Athens by the news of the seizure of Elatea is described, in a famous passage, by Demosthenes.¹ The city was paralysed. He alone rose to the occasion, which he had so long foreseen. Coming forward in the expectant assembly, and generously forgetting to dwell on his neglected prophecies, he pointed out what was to be done. This was to arm, defend the frontiers, and once more send an embassy to Thebes with offers of alliance on the most liberal terms. On this embassy he went himself; and, in the face of enormous odds, in spite of the old hatreds of the two cities, and in opposition to the presence and proffers of representatives, not only from Philip but from all his allies, he won the day by his eloquence. His speech, unhappily, is not preserved.² The alliance was immediately consummated, and a Thebano-Athenian force was soon under arms in Boeotia.

Of the ensuing war, which lasted nearly a year, we know little. On the one hand, Philip appealed in vain to the Peloponnese; but succeeded in cutting to pieces a body of 10,000 mercenaries which had been lent to Amphissa, and in carrying out his minor purpose of punishing that state for her alleged sacrilege. On the other hand, Demosthenes was indefatigable. He diverted the Theoric fund, at last, to military purposes. His 'gaddings about' resulted in the acquisition of allies and the collection of funds in many parts of Hellas. The patriotic allies reconstituted Phocis, and fortified Ambrysus. We hear, also, of two victories won by them, in 'the winter battle,' and 'the battle by the river.' Demosthenes received at home, on the motion of Demomeles and Hyperides, the honour of a golden crown, which was proclaimed at the great Dionysiac festival, March, 338 B.C. We hear, too, that Philip attempted separate negotiations with Thebes, which were frustrated by the orator.

But no diplomacy and no eloquence could compensate for the military inferiority of most of the Greek troops and the incapacity

¹ De Cor. §§ 169 sqq.

² Kennedy feels its loss so much that he gives, from conjecture, a vigorous sketch of what it 'may have been,' in his Appendix 'Chaeronea.'

of their commanders, when they met the veterans of Macedon led by the greatest general since Epaminondas. The end soon came. In August, 338 B.C., a pitched battle was fought at CHAERONEA, where, after a long and gallant resistance, the Greeks were utterly routed. More than a thousand Athenians fell, and twice that number were taken prisoners, while the losses of the other allies must have been terrible.

Philip at once proceeded to inflict a heavy vengeance on Thebes for her unexpected opposition. He sold the Theban captives into slavery, banished or destroyed the leading citizens, set up an oligarchy of Three Hundred, chiefly composed of exiles and invested with absolute power, and stationed a Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea. He then secured his hold on Western Greece, and made a settlement of the Peloponnese. Sparta only, as proud as she was helpless, refused to submit.

The news of the disaster had been received at Athens with the keenest disappointment and grief; but these were quickly followed by frenzied efforts to place the city in a state of defence. The fortifications were hurriedly repaired with material taken from every quarter; funds were gathered from the whole body of citizens, and from the islands; and a levy was called of all who could bear arms. But Philip had no desire for the destruction of Athens. He was satisfied to offer terms of peace, through the orator Demades. The prisoners should be returned without ransom, and Oropus restored to Athens, if she would accept and support the hegemony of Macedonia. To such conditions no refusal was possible, and Athens, resigning herself to her humiliation, accepted them.

A great congress of the Hellenic states was assembled at Corinth the next year. Philip was recognised as the head of Greece; and required contingents from each state for a grand expedition against Persia. So the victor 'harnessed the Greeks to his car,' in preparation for the conquest of the world.

II.

THE TRIAL.

Demosthenes, in spite of the utter failure of his policy to maintain the dignity and independence of the city, still retained the respect of his countrymen. In addition to his offices of Treasurer of the Theoric Fund, and Conservator of the Walls, he was appointed to the important duty of special Corn-Commissioner. A still more marked and honourable distinction was that he was selected to deliver the funeral oration over the ashes of those who had died on the battle-fields of the late campaign. The Macedonian party, indeed, assailed him with every possible means of legal procedure, and, for a period, he was on his trial 'daily and all day long.' But in every case the prosecution failed. When 337-336 B.C. Ctesiphon proposed to confer on him a golden crown, to be proclaimed at the coming Dionysiac festival, in recognition of his public services and of a generous gift of three talents, which he had made towards the recent repair of the fortifications, his motion was passed by the Council of the Five Hundred. But here Aeschines interposed, and preferred against Ctesiphon an indictment for Breach of the Constitution, and the proposal could not be proceeded with until this charge had been tried. The trial did not take place for nearly seven years.

During these years the history of Greece, apart from her relations with Macedonia, of which indeed she was now merely a dependent province, is little better than a blank. The assassination of Philip, on the eve of his departure for Asia (336 B.C.), was a cause for thanksgiving to all true patriots, and kindled hopes of liberation. These were dimmed by the promptitude of Alexander, who instantaneously filled his father's place, and removed any doubts of his ability to wield the Macedonian sceptre. Marching at once into Greece, at the head of an overwhelming force, he overawed all opposition, and, summoning a congress at Corinth, obtained a convention, by which he secured to himself the prerogatives before held by Philip, and laid down the conditions which were to rule inter-Hellenic affairs. These conditions he,

and his generals, soon commenced and continued to violate, arousing a wide-spread discontent. In 335 B.C. he had left on a northern expedition. No news had been heard of him for a long time, and rumours grew that he had perished. The Thebans, throwing off their oligarchy, blockaded the Macedonian garrison. In this revolt they were encouraged by Demosthenes and other Athenian statesmen, and aided by them with gold which had come from Persia. Suddenly the existence of Alexander was announced by his appearance in person in Boeotia. Thebes was invested. The Thebans were too far committed to hope for reconciliation, and so defied him. They met his assaults with the courage of despair, but the city was stormed and wholly razed to the ground. Six thousand Thebans were slain in the massacre which took place: thirty thousand were sold into servitude. It is said that only the house, and the descendants, of Pindar were spared. The Cadmea was preserved as a Macedonian fort. The rest of Greece was terrified into humble submission. Alexander required the surrender of ten Athenian public men, among whom Demosthenes was first named, and it was with difficulty that he was persuaded to relax his demand. Once again, in 330 B.C., soon after the final victory at Arbela (331 B.C.) had made Alexander lord of the East, the Spartan king, Agis, took up the cause of freedom: but he was defeated by Antipater, and died on the field the death of Leonidas.

In August 330 B.C. the trial 'concerning the Crown' at length took place. The reasons for the delay are not evident. The charge having effectually blocked Ctesiphon's motion was then, perhaps, dropped, and was only revived when the triumph of Macedonism offered Aeschines and his party a favourable opportunity to gratify old grudges. Or perhaps the continual uncertainty of the success of Alexander in Asia, the occasional neighbourhood of the Persian fleet, and the wide-felt sympathy with the hopes and efforts of Thebes and Sparta, had hitherto reduced the likelihood of obtaining a verdict in a large Athenian court. Certainly former attempts to indict those who had proposed to honour Demosthenes had signally failed, with serious loss to their authors; and a similar fate had fallen on such as had more lately attacked the orator directly. On the other side, Demosthenes and his friends could not venture to challenge the prosecution. Demades

and Phocion were supreme in Athenian affairs, and the threatening growth of Macedonian power obliged the patriotic party to keep a prudent course.¹

A contest, so long looked forward to, between the two greatest living orators,—who were not only bitter rivals, but also represented the two opposite policies which for twenty years had distracted every Hellenic state,—who were now met, as was well known, not so much to plead on points of local law, as to deal with questions which had been, and still were, of the highest moment to the Hellenic race,—woke the liveliest anticipation through the whole of Greece, and drew to Athens, from all quarters, an unprecedented concourse of hearers. At Athens itself every help which party strength could lend had been laid under requisition. Each orator was surrounded and supported by as many as possible of his most influential advocates. After being solemnly sworn, a full jury of five hundred dicasts took their seats in the court. Rumours had gone abroad about the grand points which either side would make. It was before the largest, most interested, and most critical audience which ever came together, that Aeschines rose for the prosecution.

The Speech of Aeschines.

Aeschines' argument was to the following effect:—

Aeschines contra Ctesiphontem, §§ 1–8. 'I come here to vindicate law against undue influence and wirepulling. Instead of the orderly proceedings of the good old times, our assemblies are now overruled by factious disorder. One only remedy, one only safeguard of your political liberties, lies in the indictment for Breach of the Constitution. Let no pressure prevent you from applying this remedy to-day and performing your high trust conscientiously.

¹ Prof. Jebb, *Att. Or.* II. p. 400, says, 'In the spring of 330, probably, when there were still hopes of the Spartans prevailing, the patriotic party were emboldened to renew the bill of 337, now a dead letter. Aeschines was driven into a corner. He must again give notice of his action, or the bill will become law. And, having given notice, he must this time follow it up, or suffer the public judgment to go against him by default.' This is a very attractive solution of the difficulty: but I cannot find authority for the statement, except perhaps the last words of the *ἐρέπα ὑπόθεσις* (preceding this speech) which close a passage that contains some very loose history.

§§ 9-12. There has grown up a practice of nullifying the official responsibility of public servants by anticipatory votes of thanks or crowns, so that the court of Auditors cannot condemn an officer without stultifying the people. At first magistrates were boldly honoured before passing their scrutiny; later, owing to a qualm of conscience, proposers added the proviso 'on passing the scrutiny.' Ctesiphon has taken the former and more lawless course.

§§ 13-16. He cannot evade me by saying that a *selected representative* does not hold regular *office*, but merely takes a *charge* and *ministration*, and that the law speaks only of *officers elected* by lot. As a fact, the law bids *all publicly-chosen officers, all overseers of public works, and all who have presidential jurisdiction in the law courts, to hold office, and register accounts* thereof. Demosthenes, as Conservator of the Walls, was an overseer of public works, and had legal jurisdiction.

[LAWS *quoted.*]

§§ 17-31. Nor will it avail Demosthenes to exclaim that there is no scrutiny into acts of generous loyalty. The constitution makes every public servant accountable—priest, trierarch, Areopagite, senator—so strictly, that, during his accountability, he may not leave the country, or change his family by adoption, or dispose of his property, whether he has handled public moneys or not.

Besides, Demosthenes was Treasurer of the Theoric Fund. This post, from the time of Eubulus down to the law of Hegemon, absorbed the functions of the Clerk of the Exchequer and the Receiver-General, the maintenance of the Dockyard and Arsenal, the province of the Commissioners of Roads, and almost every department of the administration.

[DECREES *read in evidence of Demosthenes' acts as Conservator of the Walls.*]

It will be equally futile to plead that Demosthenes was *nominated by his tribe*. He was still a magistrate in the eye of the law.

[LAWS *read.*]

§§ 32-34. The proposed proclamation of the crown in the theatre, also, was contrary to the law

[LAW *read.*]

which directs that crowns given by the Commons are to be proclaimed in the meeting-place of the Assembly, and those given by the Council in the Council-hall; but nowhere else.

§§ 35-48. The Dionysiac law, on which my opponents will vainly rely, was framed to put an end to promiscuous proclamations, in the theatre at the Dionysia, of emancipations, or crowns given by tribes or demes, which had become both an abuse and a nuisance. All these were abolished, and only crowns bestowed by foreign states were allowed to be announced in the Theatre, and even these were to be consecrated to Athene, while the proclamation had to be sanctioned by the people of Athens.

[LAWS read.]

§§ 49-50. Thirdly, the statement of Demosthenes' claim to distinction constitutes an illegality: for it is false, and to insert falsehoods in public bills or documents is expressly forbidden by law.

§§ 51-57. In treating the life of Demosthenes I will not trouble you with the stories, now too stale, of his scandalous behaviour in connection with Demomeles, Cephisodotus, Midias. He himself proposes, I believe, to make a fourfold division of his career, comprising—

Firstly, the period of the war with Philip, concerning Amphipolis, down to the peace brought about by Philocrates and himself.

Secondly, the period of the peace, down to his own violation of it.

Thirdly, the period of the war down to Chaeronea; and

Fourthly, the sequel down to to-day.

Then he will force me, will-I nill-I, to answer, in which of these periods I impugn his conduct.

I answer you now, Demosthenes, in presence of the jurors, in presence of our countrymen, in presence of all the Hellenes who have concerned themselves to assist at this trial—and never on any former occasion have so many congregated to witness a public contest—I answer that I impeach all the periods of your career, according to your own division; and, please heaven and my hearers, I shall prove that the preservation of Athens is due to Providence, and to the courtesy and moderation of those who

dealt with us, while of all our disasters Demosthenes has been the guilty cause.

§§ 58-78. In the first period, you might have made peace in common with the general body of the Hellenes—Athenian pre-eminence to follow,—by waiting for the return of your embassies, had it not been for the venalities of Demosthenes and Philocrates. Do not be surprised at this charge, but listen with mathematical impartiality to the facts. If I demonstrate that Demosthenes did more than Philocrates to promote the peace, to flatter Philip and his ambassadors, to prevent the united action of Hellas, and to sacrifice Cersobleptes, then grant me that, in this portion at least of his public life, he has not done well.

When Philocrates was put on trial for proposing the admission of Philip's envoys, he was acquitted by the help of Demosthenes, who then got into the senate, fraudulently, in order to support him there. Philocrates' second motion, to send ambassadors to invite plenipotentiaries from Philip, was carried; and Demosthenes was one of those who went. He returned the eulogist of peace; and proposed a safe-conduct for Philip's representatives. Philip further planned, through the instrumentality of Demosthenes and Philocrates, that, without waiting for the issue of your negotiations with the other Hellenes, you should vote not a peace only but an alliance, to the exclusion of Cersobleptes, against whom he was marching: and these ends Demosthenes 'Philip's foe!' secured by a sacrilegious hurrying on of your assemblies. Your allies, whom I supported, proposed a treaty of peace only, open to the acceptance of any Hellene within three months. But at the second assembly, on the morrow of the first, Demosthenes, usurping the platform, declared that peace and alliance were indissoluble, and, after a collusive questioning of Antipater, helped Philocrates to carry the bill. Cersobleptes remained to be thrown over. Philocrates inserted a clause confining the terms of the treaty to the allies 'who were present,' the Thracian king's envoy being accidentally absent; and Demosthenes put the question to the vote. And this—mark—was *before* the second embassy.

Then Demosthenes went out of his way to procure seats of honour for the Macedonian ambassadors at the theatre, attended

them thither, and escorted them on their departure. This is the man who had a pretended revelation of Philip's death, and came abroad in holiday dress, though his only daughter had just been laid in her grave ! Can such a parent be a patriot ?

§§ 79-83. In the second period we find Philocrates banished, Demosthenes on a pedestal : how came the change ? Seeing Philip in Phocis, Thebes too strong, and you panic-stricken, feeling that the authors of the peace were in peril, excited further by a private quarrel with Philocrates over the gold, and knowing himself to be a coward—what was Demosthenes to do ? Treacherously turning round on his fellow-ambassadors, he indicted them, and was then picked up by the war-party as 'the only incorruptible man.' In their service he set himself to discover grievances against Philip in connection with places hitherto unknown, Serrium and the like ; bade you require, but forbade you to receive, envoys from him ; rejected his suggestion of arbitration, and charged you not to take, but only *re-take*, Halonnesus, which was freely offered ; crowned the raiders who had followed Aristodemus into Thessaly and Magnesia ; and so, at last, created the fatal war.

§§ 84-105. The Euboean and Theban alliances were 'walls of bronze and adamant to Attica' ? Triple wrongs ! Look at them.

First, Euboea.

Callias, of Chalcis, ungrateful for our prompt and generous rescue of Euboea from the grasp of Thebes, treacherously attempted to exterminate our forces at Tamynae ; and only our own gallantry saved us from the double disgrace of defeat at the hands of inferiors. Pardoned, again he strove to strengthen Euboea against us for his own tyrannical ends, and became a friend of Philip. Cast out by him, he sought, and deserted, Thebes. Thus exposed to two fires, he formed the design of entrapping Athens in an alliance ; and this he obtained, thanks to the 'tyrant-hater' Demosthenes—who also, by his fine sentiments, relieved Chalcis of her subsidy and her attendance at Athens, and waived the tribute of ten talents due from Eretria and Oreus, forming, of all things, an Euboean synod ! Callias carried his design by bringing news of a wonderful Peloponnesian confederacy against Philip, ready with men, money, and ships ; and Demosthenes backed his tale,

adding Acarnania and a promised hegemony of Athens, and lying most circumstantially. Then he produced his decree, longer than the Iliad, emptier than his own speeches, or his own life, and filled only with hopes that were vain and armaments that were never to muster; and so you lost ten talents, getting in return

[DECREE read.]

phantom fleets and forces. Demosthenes secured three talents for the job, wringing the uttermost farthing from the impoverished Oreites.

[DECREE OF OREITES read.]

This is Ctesiphon's 'patriot,' this his 'good man!'

§§ 106-136. The third and worst period comprises his sacrilege against Delphi, and his ruinous alliance with Thebes.

Listen to an account of the destruction of the impious Cirrhaeans, and the dedication of their lands to eternal desolation by Solon and the Amphictyons. [*Aeschines here gives the account.*] Hear the Oracle, the Oaths, and the Curse [*which are here read*], binding the Amphictyons to enforce the sentence for ever. In spite of all this, the Amphissians tilled the land, rebuilt the port, and exacted tolls, purchasing the home support of the deputies, especially Demosthenes,—who showed strongly, in this instance, that whatever private man, or potentate, or free community he has to do with, he involves each of them in irremediable disasters. When I went to Delphi, I found the Amphissians trumping up an old charge against us, to flatter Thebes. I grew angry, denounced their trespass vehemently [*Aeschines here recounts his speech*], and moved the Amphictyons to lay waste the violated land anew. The president, Cottyphus, called a general assembly, and the permanent officers were instructed to prepare a resolution. Demosthenes fraudulently prevented Athens from taking action, and unhappy Thebes stood aloof. The other Amphictyons proclaim war, under Cottyphus—Philip we must remember being in Scythia—and the Amphissians are fined, but fail to pay. A second war is begun, Philip having meanwhile returned. We should have taken the leadership, and signs and portents from heaven warned us to do so; but Demosthenes defied them, as he defied the omens at Chaeronea, and courted our doom. Hence

the strange dispensations of heaven in our time. Nothing un-
 hoped, nothing unexpected, that we have not seen! We have
 lived to startle posterity. The Persian king, breaker of moun-
 tains, bridger of seas, who demanded earth and water from the
 Hellenes, and claimed dominion from the rising to the setting sun,
 fights now for mere life against the champion of Delphi. Thebes,
 our neighbour Thebes, has in a single day been blotted out of
 Hellas—justly, perhaps, but her folly had no mere human origin.
 The Spartans, so little sinning, once leaders of the Hellenes, now
 fling themselves on the mercy of Alexander. Athens, the asylum,
the salvation of Greece, the courted of all, now has to struggle for
 the bare soil. And all this has befallen us since Demosthenes
came forward. Is not this ‘the sinful man, the bane of nations,’
 spoken of by the prophet Hesiod?

§§ 137-151. Though he claims the Theban alliance as won by
 his own eloquence, many men, eminent, eloquent as he, and
 closely bound to Thebes, who tried to bring it about before, failed,
 but failed only through error of that city. It was Philip’s advance
which drove the Thebans into your arms, and you helped them
before a word was uttered by Demosthenes. What *he* did was to
spoil the alliance in three ways. First, he specially guaranteed all
 Boeotia to Thebes, and made us incur two-thirds of the expense,
 yet enjoy no preeminence in the command—a fact you know but
 neglect. Secondly, he transferred the seat of our government to
 Thebes, turned autocrat, browbeat all opposition, embezzled pay,
 and, by dividing our forces, sacrificed ten thousand mercenaries
at Amphissa—thus playing into Philip’s hands. Give villany
 power, and a people suffers! Thirdly, when Philip, aware of his
 hazard, offered peace, and the experienced Boeotarchs were in-
 clined to treat with him, Demosthenes, jealous lest others should
 finger Philip’s gold—for life was intolerable, if there was a bribe
 he did not share—swore by the statue of Athene, which we might
 think Phidias designed specially for his perjuries, that he would
 hale to prison, by the hair, any advocate of peace, and would ask
 of Thebes a passage for Athenian troops to face the enemy alone.
 Thus he shamed the Boeotarchs into the field. So, a generation
 before, Cleophon led us to ruin.

§§ 152-158. Then he, the runaway, dared to pronounce the

funeral oration over the men he had sent to their death! Will you forget them, and crown him? Come with me, in imagination, to the theatre. Fancy you see the herald advancing to make the proclamation; and ask yourselves if the bereaved will shed as many tears over the coming tragedy, as over the unkindness of the City. What cultured Hellene will not suffer a pang, when he but remembers that, in the good old times, the herald would bring forward the children of the brave dead, clad in panoply, and, uttering his soul-stirring words, conduct them to the seats of honour? while now, as he leads on the maker of orphans—no! Truth will ring through his formula, crying that here we give a crown of virtue to a villain, a crown of valour to a coward! Men of Athens, erect not a trophy against yourselves by the altar of Dionysus! Convict not the people of madness! Do not rend the hearts of the Theban exiles whom you shelter! Picture their sufferings—the sack of their city, the demolition of their walls, the burning of their homes. See wives and children dragged to slavery, old men and old women too late unlearning freedom, all supplicating you, in tears of agony and wrath, not to crown the bane of Greece, whose counsel has ever brought ruin! Shall a ferryman who has but once lost a boat be dismissed, yet he who has wrecked all Hellas still pilot your State?

§§ 159-167. After Chaeronea he fled in a trireme; but was recalled by tidings of Athens' escape from destruction. For a time he lived in obscurity. Philip's death brought him out exultant. 'Alexander was Margites, would stay in Macedon and philosophize. Valour wants blood.' Yet he dared not perform his duty as ambassador to this Alexander in the camp at Thebes, but made disgraceful terms with him through a low boy, Aristion. He had three further chances of showing his warlike temper against Alexander. One, when that prince crossed to Asia. He was dumb. Again, when Alexander was in desperate straits in Cilicia. He only dangled his letters, made jocular threats against me, and—waited for a better opportunity. Lastly, Alexander was at the world's end, and Antipater was slow in gathering forces to meet Sparta, Elis, Achaea, and Arcadia, all revolted and triumphant. You only gave us vile and portentous metaphors, performed antics on

the platform, and boasted that you had raised Laconia and Thessaly. *You?*

§§ 168-176. Do you pretend to be a popular statesman?

A popular statesman should be a pure-born freeman, of patriotic lineage, of good conduct—profligacy means dishonesty—of good judgment, eloquent, and brave. An oligarch is the reverse of this. Which is Demosthenes?

His father was a freeman, but his mother a daughter of the traitor and outlaw Gylon, by a Scythian wife, the marriage being, in fact, irregular. Hence his treachery, hence his barbarian villany. Having squandered his patrimony, he turned speech-writer, and betrayed his clients. Losing his custom, he became public orator, still dissipating the money acquired in this profession,—though Persian gold at present keeps him afloat. About his purity the less said the better. His speeches are specious, but bad in their results. His courage—he admits his cowardice, in spite of the fact that a coward is subjected by Solon to legal degradation, and may never be crowned. So much for Demosthenes as a popular statesman.

§§ 177-190. [Crowns? Men of Athens, I warn you against these vain distinctions. In old times, when these were rare, men were great, the city grand: now these are matters of course, and we—sadly to lack. Would old athletes have trained if wreaths could have been jobbed? Do we now train hard? Curtail distinctions, you multiply merit—multiply them, and you demoralize. Contrast the victors Themistocles and Miltiades, the liberators who came from Phylae, the just Aristides, with the runaway, the oligarch, the lawless Demosthenes—though I should not mention him on the same day with them. Had they crowns? None, but the undying gratitude of a high-minded people.

[Rewards?] The conquerors at the Strymon did ask and receive a reward—three *Hermæ*, bearing inscriptions that contained no names. [What did Miltiades get? A place in the fresco in the porch. What were the wages of Thrasybulus and his comrades? Olive-wreaths, and ten drachmæ each for religious purposes.] Contrast the decree then passed with Ctesiphon's.

[DECREES read.]

These comparisons he will decline, and tell us that Philammon was not pitted against Glaucus. Yes, skill in wrestling may be relative: virtue is absolute.

§§ 191-214. What was the glory of the liberators? To have vindicated the laws. Then, as my aged father was wont to tell me, breaches of the constitution were rigorously tried and minutely investigated. Since Demosthenes appeared, our courts are lax, cases are turned upside down and decided on irrelevant issues or evil precedents. Once Cephalaus could pride himself, not like Aristophon, on seventy-five acquittals, but that he was never prosecuted. Once friends would indict friends—even Thrasybulus was convicted by Archinus. There were no beggings-off then, nor should there be now. In obvious breaches of the law all pleadings should be confined to mitigation of the penalty. Moreover advocates are unnecessary—in Demosthenes' case, dangerous. Keep Ctesiphon to the point, and, if Demosthenes must be heard, make him adopt the same order as I have done—first, the two legal points, then his merits—or he will trick you. Do not let him rip up old party wounds, but tell him he is no democrat. Doubt his oaths, and if he bewail his condition, bid him weep for that of the State from which he has detached himself. What is this case to him? Let him take his crown, should he get it, with deprecation. If it be denied him, fear not, lest, in grand chagrin, he slay himself—he only bruises himself, or suffers bruises from Midias, for money.

Of Ctesiphon I will say no more than that he and Demosthenes are a pair of scoundrels, who know one another too well to be comfortable.

§§ 215-228. Demosthenes intends to vilify all my actions, and even my inaction—though I am not ashamed of them—and to accuse me of instituting this trial to court Alexander. 'Why did I not oppose his measures if they were bad?' I am an independent politician, and speak when I feel called. You are dumb when you are fed, noisy when you have spent: and you speak at the bidding of your paymasters. This suit was laid before your miraculous revelation of Philip's death, and I bring it forward—

I may do so, in a free state—when I think proper. You will say, I never accused you. Is Amphissa forgotten, is Euboea, is your filching of a whole fleet when you were naval minister? Then the danger! You slew your host Anaxinus, and brazened it out; not to mention your forgeries, and the arrests and tortures of your victims. You intend to compare me to a bad physician, prescribing too late. You were worse: you caused the disease, and nullified our remedies. After Chaeronea, too, we had other things to think of than accusing you. When, however, you had the face to ask for a crown, I could bear no longer, but set my veto on the proposal.

Then he will compare my eloquence to the deadly music of the Sirens,—how inappropriate a comparison from the lips of a mere man of words!

§§ 230–235. Is the decree constitutional? Shall not a profligate like Ctesiphon be punished? Will you crown Demosthenes, who has discrowned you? What if a dramatist should crown Thersites? Hellas will hiss you. Will you crown the author of your disgrace? You punish false judgments in the games: will you pass one yourselves in national matters, weaken the constitution, and set a man above the law—for nothing? It is mere luck that your demagogues are not tyrants, like the Thirty, whose footsteps they follow.

§§ 236–260. What are Demosthenes' merits? He poorly fortified the city against a siege which he himself invited. To credit him with the Theban alliance is to deceive the ignorant and insult the informed. The Thebans, like the Persian king, sought us only in their own dire need; and Demosthenes kept the royal gold, when a fraction would have bought back the Cadmea, and won over the Arcadians.

Can we tolerate self-praise from a man who is the dishonour of his city? Defend yourself, Ctesiphon: you are orator enough. Are Demosthenes' merits so weak that an advocate must help you? It was not so with Chabrias, Iphicrates, Timotheus. We reckon the material instruments of homicide as unclean: shall the corrupt coward and murderer be honoured? Think of the insult to the

dead, the discouragement to the living, the evil effect on the young. You, judges, are on your trial ; Athens is on hers. Do not stamp with your approval self-styled patriots, who are filching your constitution, who carry on treasonable correspondence, yet to whom the people, like a dotard, surrenders its conduct. The traitor who sailed for Samos was slain, the coward who fled to Rhodes barely escaped death. Will you not punish this political pirate to save our name in Hellas? Your duty is to be just. Use your own eyes: who are his supporters? The friends of a manly youth? His was a boyhood of intrigue. Is he Persuasion itself, that you should believe the tales of his political exploits? Against the partners of his crimes see arrayed Solon, the fount of Law, Aristides, the type of Justice, and with them Themistocles and all the Heroism of the Median wars!

Earth, Sun, Virtue, Intelligence, Moral Culture, bear me witness! I have come to the rescue, I have spoken: if well and fittingly, 'twas my wish; if inadequately, 'twas my best. Think of all I have said, or should have said, and give a judgment right and wholesome to your country.']

The Speech of Demosthenes.

After a formal plea had been entered by Ctesiphon, Demosthenes delivered his reply, of which the following is an outline.

Dem. de Cor. §§ 1-11. ['Men of Athens, I pray that my constant loyalty may win me a kind and impartial hearing from you, and that I may be allowed to choose for myself the method of my defence.

I am at a disadvantage, compared with my opponent, both because I fight for higher stakes than he, and because, while he plays the part of accuser, which is always sure of interesting an audience, he has thrust upon me the odious duty of praising myself. If, in doing so, I tire you, for that you must blame the prosecutor.

You will all admit that I am even more concerned in this suit than Ctesiphon, for I risk the loss of your good-will; and therefore I entreat of you to remember your oaths, and listen with impartiality to my just pleas, before you come to a verdict, which, I trust in heaven, will be worthy of your character.]

I must first clear the case of the irrelevancies with which my opponent has distorted it. If his abuse of my private history be true, condemn me at once. But if you think me a better man than he is, then disbelieve his charges as a whole. I intend to deal principally with his libels on my public life, and then perhaps I may have something to say about his ribaldry.

§§ 12-16. The prosecution is on the face of it self-condemned, both by its obvious malice, futility, unfairness, lateness and inconsistency; and as a cowardly attack on a third person, instead of a straightforward settlement of our personal hostilities.

§ 17. False as the charges are seen to be, I must examine them singly, especially those in connection with the Peace and the Embassy; and, to do so, I must remind you of the political circumstances of the times to which I refer.

§§ 18-24. The divisions and jealousies among the Greek states, when the Phocian war began, made Philip's opportunity. By lavish use of gold he flung the Greeks into domestic chaos, and took advantage of the mistakes which ensued. When the Thebans were at length worn out by the war, he prevented their union with us by promising them help and offering us peace. The ignorance and cowardice of the Greeks at large drove you to come to terms with him. That ruinous peace was none of my making, but was brought about by your partner, Aeschines, the corrupt Philocrates, and by the members of the party of inaction. Still Aeschines declares that, besides being responsible for that peace, I prevented Athens from forming it in concert with her allies. Why then did he not oppose me? Nor in fact were any negotiations with our allies still in progress. We had already found them wanting. To have called them to arms, while we were treating with Philip, would have been dishonourable. To have called them to make peace with him would have been ridiculous: they were all at peace with him already. Thus I stand clear of all responsibility in this matter.

§§ 25-30. Compare my conduct with that of Aeschines after the peace. I knew that Philip was active in his aggressions

against the city, and that he must be sworn before he had taken your important possessions in Thrace. I proposed a decree that our ambassadors should proceed at once to administer the oaths to him, a decree which Aeschines deliberately ignores—though he misrepresents my simple courtesy in providing Philip's envoys with free seats in the theatre. No, Aeschines, it was not my duty to secure a few obols from them, while selling, as you have sold, our national interests.]

[DECREE read.]

In spite of this decree, three months were wasted, and Philip was master of Thrace, before he swore to the peace.

§§ 31-41. Philip now secured a second advantage from our corrupt ambassadors, namely, that they should remain away till he was ready to march on Phocis, lest Athens, hearing of his approach in time, should man Thermopylae, and block his way. In his anxiety he condescended even to hire Aeschines, to make in his name false promises of the benefits he was about to confer on us, and the heavy blow he was going to deal to Thebes. So his way was left open. To show what came of these promises, listen to the decree which you passed in your alarm, when Philip destroyed the Phocians, and to the letter in which he announced this act.

[DECREE AND LETTER read.]

You see how Philip won over the Thessalians and Thebans, and how he tricked you. Yet Aeschines, his agent in all this, ventures to-day to draw pathetic pictures of the present miseries of Thebes and Phocis !

§§ 42-49. [After the close of the Sacred War, Philip was enthusiastically supported by Thebes and Thessaly, while you and the other Hellenes suffered from his aggressions, but could not break the peace. Philip went to conquer the Illyrians and Triballians. Traitors flocked to him from all parts. At length the indolence and the blindness of the Hellenic states were rewarded by the loss of their liberties. The traitors too received the due recompense of their labours from their master. They now wander over the whole world, despised and homeless outlaws. And, but

for the fact that Athens was saved by her patriotic statesmen, Aeschines and his sympathisers would be in the same plight.

§§ 50-52. Forgive me for this recital: Aeschines has laid his own crimes to my charge, and I was obliged to clear myself of them, as there are many here who do not remember the events. I admit that the tale of his hireling service is disagreeable. This, by the way, he calls friendship, and complains that I reproach him with the friendship of Alexander. I should be the last man to do so; I call him hireling. Let Aeschines hear whether you think him the hireling or the friend of Philip and Alexander!]

§§ 53-59. I will now deal with the indictment,

[INDICTMENT *read.*]

and follow its order of topics. The statement that I did and said what was best for Athens, and should therefore be crowned, must be examined in the light of my public life. The proposal to crown me, while I was still an accountable officer, belongs partly to the same subject; but will also require me to produce the laws which protect the proposer. It will be necessary for me to enter upon inter-Hellenic affairs, in order to justify my political conduct, for it was with these that I concerned myself.

§§ 60-72. Philip started with a great advantage. Greece was full of traitors, by whose employment he was able to aggravate her intestine feuds. Amid the divisions of the states, and their ignorance of the danger that threatened them, what was I, who was charged with the foreign policy of Athens, to advise her to do? To forget her dignity, and, like the Thessalians, help Philip to dominion over Hellas, or at least to connive, like the Peloponnesians, at his designs? Nay, these very peoples have suffered more than we, and have almost lost their political existence. But what should Athens have done? What should I have proposed? I knew that in all our history we had been the champions of Pan-Hellenic liberty. I saw that our antagonist, Philip, would stop at no sacrifice in the quest of supremacy. Were the men of Athens to surrender their freedom to the man of Pella? No, you withstood him, and I was your counsellor. Aeschines says that, by dwelling on Philip's wrong-doings in the Aegean, I hurled the city

into war. It is not true, and I will say nothing of them now. But look at his acts in Euboea and Megara, as well as in the Hellespont. Were these not violations of the peace? Was Hellas to have no defender and fall an unresisting prey? If so, Athens has done wrong, and I am the guilty cause. But if there was a cry for help, who should have responded but Athens? Such was my policy.]

§§ 73-82. That Philip broke the peace by the seizure of our vessels can be proved by the decrees of that time, none of which however were proposed by me.

[DECREES *read.*]

Show me any decree of mine leading to hostilities. I am not blamed even by Philip.

[LETTER OF PHILIP *read.*]

Why? To name me would have been to call attention to his own crimes, which I constantly withstood. I confronted him in his attempts both on the Peloponnese and on Euboea; I despatched the squadrons which rescued the Chersonese and Byzantium from his hands; and thus I won for Athens crowns from the grateful Hellenes whom she saved, and awoke even in those who refused to be succoured admiration, amid their miseries, for her prophetic power. What gold would Philip have given to have escaped these reverses? Aeschines, the host of his envoys, knows best of all. And yet he dares to say that I am dumb when I receive a fee, and noisy when it is spent. It is different with him: he is noisy while he retains his fee.

§§ 83-94. For my services I received a crown, proposed in just the same manner as that proposed by Ctesiphon.

[DECREE OF ARISTONICUS *read.*]

This distinction of mine brought no harm to Athens of the sort prophesied by Aeschines, and is a proof of the value of my services. Byzantium was important to you as commanding your corn-supply. When, therefore, that city was besieged by Philip, you at once sent relief, and I was responsible for advice to that effect. The advantage you reaped from this act was demonstrated by the plenty which you enjoyed in a time of war, a time of

greater comfort than the present peace which these traitors—Heaven thwart their designs!—uphold.

[DECREES OF BYZANTINES AND PEOPLES OF THE CHERSONESE, CONFERRING CROWNS ON ATHENS, *here read.*]

[Such was the effect of my policy, but it did more. It showed the nobleness of Athens in strong contrast with the baseness of Philip, and it proved that Athens would not desert even those who sinned against her in their hour of peril.]

§§ 95-101. To point out the falsehood of Aeschines' libels upon Euboea and Byzantium would be superfluous. But to show their meanness, let me recall one or two of the great acts of Athens, done in your time. During the Spartan autocracy, broken as our city was, you marched out to Haliartus and to Corinth, forgetting your grievances against Corinth and Thebes, and fully alive to the danger. You and your fathers knew, indeed, that death closes all; but believed that something, ere the end, should be done by men of worth. So, when Thebes was supreme, and would have destroyed your old foe, Lacedaemon, you set your veto on that also, letting the world know that your anger fades when an enemy is in extremities. Yet again, you rescued Euboea from the Thebans, and scrupulously restored the cities to the very men who had wronged you. When the issue touched ourselves, was I to sully these and a thousand more such precedents?

§§ 102-109. My next act was the reform of your navy, which—to the great detriment of your operations abroad—was in a state of decay. In spite of the offers of enormous bribes, and in face of an indictment,

[DOCUMENT *read.*]

I divided the trierarchic burden so fairly between the rich and the poor

[OLD SCHEDULE AND NEW SCHEDULE *read.*]

that no one made a complaint, and I secured the complete efficiency of your fleet.

These instances, and I need quote no more, prove that my home and foreign policies were alike liberal and honest, and had the same end, namely, what was best for Athens and for Hellas.

§§ 110-125. It remains to speak of the legal points. I admit that I was an accountable servant of the state. But there is no law to call me to account for my free gifts. You have crowned others during their term of office for special acts of generosity.

[DECREES CONFERRING CROWNS *read.*]

If I was guilty of misconduct in my office, why did not Aeschines protest at my audits?

In the bill of Ctesiphon

[BILL OF CTESIPHON *read.*]

all he attacks is the grateful return to be made for my gifts, the acceptance of which he allows to be quite constitutional. Is it constitutional to accept a gift, unconstitutional to thank the giver? A villainous doctrine!

Proclamations in the theatre may be counted by the thousand, and are for the national good, as they provoke emulation in patriotism. They are quite legal, if sanctioned by the assembly.

[LAW *quoted.*]

Shall Aeschines be allowed to garble the laws, to bring suits founded only on malice, and to occupy the courts of law with abuse instead of accusation? Never has he attacked me directly, but only does so now, when the city is implicated with me. He poses as my enemy: really he is the enemy of his country.

§§ 126-138. Who is he to use hard words—harder than would have fallen from the lips of a stern Judge of the Dead? A hack. How dare he speak of moral culture—he, the son of a slave and a prostitute? But enough. Look at his career. In return for the promotion you gave him, he has served your foes.

He would have saved the incendiary, Antiphon, but for the Areopagus, which body, as I can prove,

[DEPOSITIONS *read.*]

removed him, as a traitor, from the office of your advocate at Delos. Again, when Philip's mouthpiece, Pytho, assailed our honour, Aeschines bore false witness against his country. Further he is known

[WITNESSES *produced.*]

to have held nightly meetings with Anaxinus, the spy—himself a

born spy. I could say more : but your delight in litigious debate makes you careless of your interests, and a treacherous calumniator is safer than a constant patriot.

§§ 139-144. His cooperation with Philip, before the war, was infamous. During the war, did he propose any wholesome decree? None. Therefore, either he could not improve on my measures, or he was in the pay of the enemy.

None so active, however, when a mischief could be done us. Look at the havoc he wrought by creating the war at Amphissa. Of that crime he can never clear himself. I detected him instantly—I stake my happiness upon it; and I speak so solemnly, because I fear, though my demonstrations lie among your archives, lest you should think him, as you thought him before, when his false reports brought the Phocians to destruction, inadequate to cause evils so immense. The war at Amphissa, which let Philip into Greece, was the work of Aeschines. When I tried to warn you at the time, you thought my protests were factitious, and my voice was drowned. Listen now, and learn the astuteness of Philip.

§§ 145-159. He suffered considerably from the war, in spite of the failures of our generals. His whole commerce was stopped by privateers. Attica was impregnable by sea. His one hope therefore was to win over Thebes and Thessaly against us. This could not be done directly; it was necessary to inveigle them into some common cause. So he hired Aeschines, who, as an Athenian, would pass unsuspected. Aeschines got himself elected sacred deputy, went to Delphi, and worked the Amphictyons into an excitement against Amphissa by accusing that State of sacrilegious trespass. He says he was provoked to this by the Amphissians bringing a charge against Athens: but no such charge was brought. The sacred deputies, while beating the bounds of the Delphic demesne, were roughly handled. War was declared on Amphissa. Amphictyonic forces assembled, but did nothing. At length, thanks to treacherous intrigue, the conduct of the war was given over to Philip. He came southward, in response to the call, and—occupied Elatea! What would have befallen us had I not gained the alliance of Thebes?

[AMPHICTYONIC DECREES AND DATES *read*.]

You see from Philip's letter

[LETTER *read.*]

that he puts forward pretexts which are wholly Amphictyonic. Who gave him these? Aeschines, the chief among the many traitors who have ruined Greece.

§§ 160-168. At this juncture, when Greece was blind to the dangers foreboded by Philip's advance, I was careful, following the best precedents, to keep a watchful eye on our relations with Thebes, in order to prevent that open rupture which the hirelings of Macedon were trying to effect.

[DECREES AND CORRESPONDENCE WITH THEBES *read.*]

So hopeless did any union between Thebes and Athens appear, at the moment when Philip secured Elatea.

→ §§ 169-195. [You remember the night of bewilderment which followed the arrival of the news—your hurried meeting in assembly at daybreak—the long suspense, when the voice of the country called in vain for counsel. I at last rose, and laid bare Philip's scheme, which I had long studied. Thebes, I said, was not wholly at his beck, and he had taken Elatea that his show of arms might overawe the Theban friends of freedom. If we remember our old bickerings with Thebes, all her parties will unite in a general philippism. What must we do? Defend the frontier, prepare help for Thebes, which is in greater danger than we, and offer her alliance with a generosity worthy of Athens. After saying this and moving a decree, I devoted myself to the situation and performed my duties to the full, and more than my duties. Nick-name me what you will, Aeschines, I served my country, when you, with all your airs, were useless.

[DECREE OF DEMOSTHENES *read.*]

This decree began our reconciliation with Thebes, and our danger passed away like a cloud. I gave my best services in the hour of need, like an honest counsellor—not waiting in silence that I might later carp at the measures of others. Was not my advice for the best? Let any, who can, better it even to-day. In what particular was I wanting? It is my principle, my efforts that you must regard, not the final issue of events—that is ordered by Heaven. You could not blame a shipmaster, if his vessel, being well fitted, failed to ride, without some loss, the storm which it was

not his to control. If we suffered so much, when we had Thebes to shelter us—what, if she had joined the foe? The final battle filled us with consternation, when it was fought at a distance of three days' journey—what, if it had been fought at our own gates? Thank God, and thanks to the Theban alliance, we were saved that.

§§ 196–210. All this I recapitulate for your information. Aeschines may be reduced by a simple dilemma. If he foresaw the future, why did he not enlighten us? If he did not foresee the future, he cannot blame my blindness. I did all I could, he—nothing. Now he tries to make capital out of our misfortunes, and proves his treachery by the action and inaction of his whole life. I will go so far as to affirm, that, had we known what course events would take, still honour obliged us to resist Philip, as we did resist him. Athens has been often tempted to betray Greece for her own aggrandisement: but she never forsook the path of honour. Witness the Athenians of the days of Themistocles! They rightly and nobly held that servitude was worse than death. I do not dream that I created such sentiments in you: they have been ever yours, and I was but your servant. If you obey my opponent—who, to steal a wreath from me, would rob you of immortal glory—if you condemn my client because my measures failed, then you have suffered because you erred. Erred, when you fought for the liberties of Hellas? No, by all the heroes of Marathon and Plataea and Salamis and Artemisium! They all lie in the public tombs—all, Aeschines, not the victorious only. Tell me then, sir actor of third parts, when I came forward to counsel my country how to play the first part, was I to forget and dishonour the past? You too, judges, have a duty towards the past, and, in deciding public suits, like this, you must lift your eyes to the high ordinances of your ancestors.

§§ 211–217. To return. When we, your ambassadors, reached Thebes, we found the prospect gloomy, as our first despatch informed you. For any improvement brought about by our diplomacy Aeschines will allow me no credit, although he lays wholly at my door the failures of your generals in the field!

[DESPATCH *read.*]

Philip's representatives spoke first, calling upon the Thebans to

show their gratitude to him and satisfy their vengeance on you, by lending active aid or, at least, by granting him a passage; and they warned them of the danger of listening to us. Would that I dare repeat to you our answer—but time, like a deluge, sweeps away your interest in bygone things. Yet hear what a favourable response we won from the Thebans.

[REPLY OF THEBANS *read.*]

So you went in force, were warmly welcomed by the Thebans—to whom you showed yourselves models of sobriety, discipline, and courage—and, by their side, gained those triumphs which got you so much gratitude, and which you celebrated so joyfully. If Aeschines rejoiced at them with us, why does he find fault now? If he stayed moodily indoors, what does he deserve?

[DECREES OF SACRIFICES *read.*]

§§ 218–226. With so happy a revolution of our fortunes contrast the agonised letters sent by Philip to the Peloponnese, that you may see what my persistent diplomacy and my goings to and fro, and my disparaged decrees, achieved for you.

You have had many great statesmen, but none who ever made himself solely responsible for a course of policy and assumed its whole management: I, however, was so impressed with the magnitude of our danger, that I saw no chance to spare myself, and took every duty which I felt I was specially qualified to fulfil.

[PHILIP'S LETTERS *read.*]

To this I reduced him, and deserved the crown I received.

[DECREES OF CORONATION *read.*]

These decrees were attacked, but absolved, though identical in terms with that of Ctesiphon. Why did not Aeschines assail them, before they passed into precedents? Because, when the facts were fresh, he dared not do, as he does now—produce a mass of musty chronicles and garbled decrees, falsify dates and motives, and ask you to conduct a rhetorical tournament in place of a critical enquiry into questions of national importance.

§§ 227–231. He has tried to mislead you by a sophistical fallacy, bidding you forget your formed opinions, and treat facts like figures that may be cancelled. Thus he overreaches himself, for

he virtually admits that your opinion is favourable to me. But he is guilty of injustice also. The method of history is not arithmetical. The results of my policy—the conversion of Thebes and Euboea and Byzantium from foes into allies—are deeds that cannot be undone and should be memorable for ever. And it was the strength you thus acquired that accounted for Philip's show of moderation in dealing with Athens.

§§ 232–243. A fair critic would not mock my mannerisms—can it be that on them hinged the fortune of Hellas?—but would inquire into facts, asking what were the means and forces of Athens when I became her minister, and what I afterwards made them; and on such an enquiry his verdict would rest.

Athens, then, had in her alliance only the weakest of the islands, yielding a subsidy of five and forty talents (and that was overdrawn), but not a heavy-armed or mounted soldier beyond her home forces; and she had nothing more. Look at Philip. Absolute commander of a large standing army, irresponsible, possessed of unlimited wealth—such was the foe I confronted, my sole resource the poor privilege of speech, which was as freely open to his hirelings as to me, and often used by them with ruinous effect. Thus unfairly matched, I won the alliance of Euboea, Achaea, Corinth, Thebes, Argos, Megara, Leucadia, Corcyra, acquiring thence fifteen thousand auxiliaries and two thousand horse, besides their citizen forces: and I also procured very large sums of money. Aeschines spoke of strict justice in our terms with Thebes and others. He does not know that, of the famous three hundred triremes that fought against the Persian, two hundred came from Athens, and she did not feel aggrieved, but glad that she could do twice as much as the other Hellenes for the deliverance of all. Nor dared I chaffer, when Philip was in the market. What would these calumniators have said, had my hard-bargaining driven these cities into Philip's alliance? That I had ruined Athens by sea and land. Base and malignant, Aeschines, as are all such creatures, you are but a counterfeit presentment of man or orator. Would a physician be heard, who never prescribed till his patient was laid in the tomb? Are you so mad as to open your lips to-day after what is past?

§§ 244-247. Aeschines gloats over the defeat. In the wordy battles I had to fight with Philip's ambassadors, I was everywhere victorious. True, he retrieved such losses by armed force, and for that Aeschines crassly blames me. But my province was not generalship. All an orator's responsibility I accept. Ought I to have watched the growth of the situation, and given timely warning? I did. Should I have checked and counteracted the constitutional errors of the State? That also I did. With Philip's armies it was not mine to cope: but on the battle-ground of corruption against incorruptibility, I ever repelled his advances. Thus, in all that concerned me, there has been no defeat.

§§ 248-251. Such are some of the justifications I afforded for the proposal of Ctesiphon. The people added others. When, in the midst of the panic that followed the battle, they might pardonably have been angered with me, all their measures of defence were directed by my decrees, and they elected me special Corn-Commissioner. Still further, when my enemies made incessant and furious attempts, in every court, to get a conviction against me, I was ever acquitted, thanks to Heaven, and to your sense of justice. Did not all this justify Ctesiphon? Aeschines may say that Cephalus was never put on his trial. He was fortunate. But why is my case worse than his? I was never convicted of the least misdemeanour, and was never even indicted by Aeschines.

§§ 252-256. The heartlessness of my opponent appears strikingly in his remarks about fortune. To reproach a fellow-man with a thing so changeable is, indeed, folly: I will answer him, I trust in a better tone. Athens is fortunate, but mankind now suffers from adversity, and she has had her share of disaster. Her good fortune, however, has enabled her, by following the path of right, to fare better than those states which thought to secure their own felicity by betraying her. The fortunes of single men must be judged from their private histories. To say that my poor fortune overruled the grand destiny of the State is ridiculous.

If Aeschines and I must necessarily compare our private fortunes, I will do so, though not frivolously. I shall fall into no

absurd pride of wealth or contempt of poverty. But he has driven me to contrast our careers, which I will do with all possible moderation.

§§ 257-269. As a boy, my education and my means were respectable. In youth I was backward in no honourable competition. As a public man, I chose a policy which brought me honours, and, at least, was never called dishonourable even by my worst enemies. I plume myself on nothing of this. You, the man of pride, spent your childhood as helper of your father, a school drudge, your boyhood in assisting in your mother's contemptible mummeries, your early manhood as petty scribe, then as third actor in a miserable dramatic company, your prime in the occupation of a timid traitor. I will not dwell on the fact that our previous lives have been, at every stage, in strong contrast. To-day, *I* risk the loss of a crown, you run the risk of being punished for treachery. My fortune has been bad, yours good? Recite your old stage harangues, while I call the witnesses of my acts of liberality,

[DEPOSITIONS *read.*]

and yet not all of these. I am content with my general repute.

§§ 270-275. But I would escape from personalities. I will confess that if there be a people beneath the sun that has not suffered from Macedon, I am guilty; if however all mankind has suffered, then the fault must lie in the general ill-fortune of the world. You, Aeschines, lay the blame on me, though you have as much to answer for yourself. I spoke, with no special authority, in a free assembly, of which you also were a member: and you failed to improve on my counsels. Their non-success was due to no crime or blunder of mine, and was a disappointment, to be shared by all, even—on your own confession—by you, my accuser.

§§ 276-284. Then this honest speaker bids you beware of my rhetorical skill! All I have of such skill—and indeed the power of an orator is measured by the welcome received from the audience—has ever been put forth to promote your national interests, never, like his, for selfish and malicious ends. Nor were these courts built as a theatre for personal encounters. His coming here, unprovoked by any crime on my part, to discharge

an elaborate tirade of abuse, is an epitome of wickedness and cowardice. He treats the occasion as meant merely for a display of declamation. Not the vocal talent of an orator, but his hearty and unselfish sympathy with the nation, is here esteemed. That sympathy I have always cherished: he, never—he, who tricked his country by false declarations, and called by the name of friendship his hireling service to Philip. Does he think that you have forgotten, or that you do not know him for what he is—a traitor?]

§§ 285-293. My countrymen showed their respect for me by appointing me to deliver the funeral oration over the slain, rejecting Aeschines and all of his party, and neglecting their vehement protests. Why? Because those men were felt to be old foes, newly unmasked; because they had joined in the revels of the blood-stained victor; and also because it was known that the cause in which our brave dead had fallen was so dear to no man as to me. The very epitaph then inscribed upon the tomb

[EPITAPH *read.*]

demonstrates the shamelessness of Aeschines in laying to my charge a dispensation of heaven—for which may heaven punish him! His tones, too, were joyful—that fact alone proves him no patriot—when he spoke of the disaster, and when he affirmed that I was solely responsible for your resistance to the foe. Would that such an honour were really mine! Yet, to gratify his spite against me, he thus disparages the greatest of your glories.

§§ 294-296. He crowned his libels with the astounding statement that *I* coquetted with Philip! If we enquire seriously, who Philip's creatures were, they are found to be the men in the various Hellenic states who resembled, not me, but Aeschines. The whole day would be too short to enumerate their names; but they were all alike—parasites, ministers of evil, mutilators of their countries, who toasted away our liberties at Macedonian banquets, and wrecked the old Hellenic code of honour.

§§ 297-305. From any part in such iniquity my policy saved both Athens and myself. Does he then ask, what are my claims to honour? These, that when all the Hellenic statesmen were

corrupt, I alone was incorruptible: that I fortified our city, not only with walls of stone, but with the bulwarks of powerful alliances: and that neither in calculations nor in preparations was I worsted by Philip. I fulfilled the duties of a patriotic minister, protecting our seaboard by the shelter of Euboea, our other frontiers with Boeotia and the Peloponnese, insuring the safety of the corn-route, and securing the most important Aegean states; and all my measures were conceived justly, and carried out with integrity and diligence. If treachery, bad generalship, and the hand of fate ruined us, am I guilty? Had the other states—had only Thessaly and Arcadia—possessed each but one statesman such as I was, Hellas had been saved!

[LISTS OF ALLIES AND FORCES *read.*]

§§ 306-313. Had my plans succeeded, Athens would have been indisputably and justly supreme: as it is, her honour is safe. To do such acts as mine was the duty of a good citizen—not to trip up the patriot, not to court the foe, not to nurse private hatreds and silently wait, and prepare, to overwhelm a victim. Your elaborate eloquence, Aeschines, should have borne fruit in national benefits. You have had many chances to shine as a public benefactor, but have taken none. What successful mission, what addition to our material wealth, what wholesome reform, stands to your credit? Not one. Have you even been loyal at heart? Nay, when all contributed their utmost to save the city from destruction, you, out of your large means, gave nothing. It is only when mischief is to be done that you shine. None then so brilliantly—base.

§§ 314-324. Lastly he speaks of the great and good of old. But let him not take advantage of your reverence for your past heroes, to show me in a bad light. Compare the living with the living. Because Athens is grateful for the good deeds of her ancient leaders, shall she be ungrateful for services rendered now? And, indeed, my acts and measures have been conceived in the true spirit of the great men of old—who themselves, no doubt, were contrasted by detractors with heroes of a yet earlier age. I fall short of their standard: but who lives that reaches it? Philammon would be no match for Glaucus: yet, as he vanquished his rivals, he received his crown. In the same way, pit me against

any living statesman—I shrink from comparison with none. When the contest was in patriotism, I was ever victor; although, when subserviency to foreigners was required, I grant that I fell far behind such princely competitors as Aeschines and his fellows. But the two qualities of the worthy citizen—to maintain, when in office, the prestige of Athens, and at all times to preserve his loyalty—have ever been found in me. Neither fear nor any other inducement made me desert that with which, from the beginning of my public life, I bound myself up, the honour, the power, the glory of my native land. I do not smile at my country's woes, nor shudder at her successes, as do these apostates, who have their hopes abroad, and bid us, when our decline has exalted the foreigner, be careful that there come no change.

Heaven! reject their prayers! If their hearts cannot be turned, destroy them utterly! But unto us grant a lasting deliverance!'

Comparison of the two Speeches.

As the ancient orators were in the habit of publishing revised editions of their speeches, the question has arisen, how far we have the present speeches in the form in which they were delivered. Dissen believed that Aeschines made considerable alterations, after hearing Demosthenes; that he omitted what he had said (cf. Dem. de Cor. 95) about the Byzantines, that he elaborated the passage about Euboea, introduced 'manifesta mendacia' into his account of the Theban alliance, and maliciously added topics referring to events which had occurred after he preferred his indictment. He believed, also, that Aeschines' apparent anticipations of points which Demosthenes would make, such as the illustration drawn from the crowning of the athlete Philammon (Aesch. c. Ct. § 190; Dem. de Cor. § 319), and the parable of the physician (Aesch. c. Ct. § 225; Dem. de Cor. § 243), were inserted in his speech when the trial was over. We may add that Aeschines was also right in anticipating that Demosthenes would attack his silence and inaction as well as his words and actions (Aesch. c. Ct. §§ 216, 217; Dem. de Cor. § 198).

On the other hand, Aeschines was wrong in expecting (§ 54) that Demosthenes would divide his life into four periods; and his

further suppositions—in § 207, that Demosthenes would declare that truth ranked oligarchs round the prosecutor and democrats round the defendant; in § 209, that he would bewail his own sad lot; in § 228, that he would compare Aeschines' eloquence to the music of the Sirens; and in § 257, that he would call on his advocates to bear him witness—are all falsified, for Demosthenes does none of these things.

Aeschines, then, is as often wrong as he is right in his fore-stallings of the points of his antagonist. The theory of deliberate change in the published version of his speech leaves unexplained the retention of his unsuccessful forecasts. The most probable view is that there had been much gossip about the contest, that some of Demosthenes' disciples had let a few hints of their master's designs leak out, that unfounded rumours also flew abroad, and that Aeschines took advantage of all of these, and did his best to spoil in advance the effect of the speech for the defence. He needed no rumours to lead him to fortify the weak points in his own case against the assaults of Demosthenes.

Dissen also fancies that Demosthenes would not have had enough courage to put the plain question of § 52, or to administer the plain-spoken rebuke of § 138, to his audience on the trial. But, in the former case, he could be sure that his friends would be prompt with the right answer: and, as to the latter, from the beginning of his public life he had always been blunt when he spoke of the faults of his countrymen. Dissen's general doubt, '*Quis v. c. credat cum multis in locis refutentur quae Aeschines dixerat haec omnia sic elaborata fuisse ut nunc habentur?*' is hardly pious in so devout an admirer of the orator.

We may, then, be satisfied that we have both these speeches very much as they were spoken.

With a few exceptions, the mere facts and occurrences, on which Aeschines bases his case, are correctly given—his principle of attack being rather to impute false and dishonest motives to his opponent, and produce a telling caricature of his political life, than to venture upon historical misstatements. His charge, however (Aesch. c. Ct. § 67), that Demosthenes deliberately hurried on the assemblies in Elaphebolion, 346 B.C., refusing to wait for the return of the envoys who had been sent among the Greek states,

and excluding Cersobleptes from the treaty, is wholly untrue. The envoys, having been away eight months, had long ago sent in their reports: and, as a matter of fact, Cersobleptes was not excluded from the peace by Athens. The accusation, too, which (§ 116) he asserts the Amphissians to have laid against Athens, at Delphi, 339 B.C., is nowhere recorded: and if, as he states, it was laid in the Theban interest, it is inconceivable that Thebes took no part in the subsequent proceedings. With this falls the libel (§ 125), that Demosthenes was bribed by Amphissa to prevent Athenian action. His accounts (§§ 85 sqq.) of the transactions in Euboea in 342-341 B.C. are inconsistent with known history, and were made eleven years after the occasion. Lastly, his allegation (§ 222) that Demosthenes lessened the Athenian fleet by sixty-five fast cruisers is quite unsupported by evidence, and contrary to what we know of the effects of the naval reform of 340 B.C. Demosthenes, on the other hand, seems to strain a point when (§ 21) he affirms that he took no part whatever in the conclusion of the peace of 346 B.C., and there is a little exaggeration in his complaint (§ 30) that the second embassy was idle for 'three whole months.'

The legal view of the case was expounded by Aeschines most luminously and completely. He proved conclusively that Ctesiphon had violated both the spirit and the letter of the law. Demosthenes could not deny that he held office, for which he was still accountable, when it was proposed to crown him. His plea, that he was to be crowned, not for his administration, but for his gifts to the state, and his indignant denial that any tribunal existed to scrutinise acts of generosity, are inconsistent with the terms of Ctesiphon's bill, and simply amount to the quibble anticipated and refuted by Aeschines. Any bad magistrate could escape through such a loophole. Such a plea only 'shows the extreme looseness of legal reasoning which was tolerated in Athenian courts' (Thirlwall)—a laxity of procedure vigorously denounced in Aeschines' speech. The citation of instances when crowns had been given to accountable officers is met by Aeschines' retort, that one illegality does not justify another. The same applies to the precedents, quoted in the defence, of coronations in the theatre—the prosecution having pointed out that these had been an abuse which had

necessitated a prohibitory statute. Demosthenes' doctrine, that the more public the proclamation the better—not for the recipient, but for the donors of a crown—is mere verbiage. His only real defence rested on an excepting clause—probably taken, however, from the Dionysiac law, and, if so, applying only, as explained by Aeschines, to crowns given by foreign states. But if Demosthenes' legal arguments were weak, he was most adroit in choosing the right place for them in his speech. They occur just after he had pleased and roused his audience by a glowing account of the victories which had won them lavish honours and thanks from the Hellenistic cities; and they are followed instantly by a storm of personalities which was sure to turn the attention of the soberest of Athenian hearers.

However strongly Aeschines might dwell on the need for the vindication of Law, he knew, as well as Demosthenes who touched the technical issues so lightly, that what the Dionysiac statute said, or did not say, mattered little on that occasion. The real issue was personal and political. He had to carry a sentence of condemnation on the public life of Demosthenes. He must have felt this to be hopeless. Often, indeed, in the latter portion of his speech, he almost implies that the crown will be conferred; and in his peroration there is a tone of dissatisfaction with the effort he has just concluded. His consciousness of his failure betrays itself also in the virulent malice of his attacks upon his rival. The best passages of his speech are his denunciations of the mischief done by the indiscriminate lavishing of public rewards. His sarcasm, too, is often scathing. Yet, splendid as is his rhetoric, it is occasionally overdone: some of his declamations tend to sink into bathos; and his appeals to his audience to transport themselves to other scenes by an effort of imagination, grow monotonous. Then he is always on his own defence. He has to explain his own silence in the past, and does so lamely. He justifies his conduct at Delphi at the expense of his judgment. His royal friendships he tries to ignore. This constant necessity for self-defence also leads him into irrelevancies. In general, his argumentation is logically imperfect, and often follows the fallacy *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. Further, he can only criticise details in the policy of his opponent, and does so on mean grounds.

Very few proofs are adduced, as he deals chiefly in bare assertions. But he uses argument far less than abuse and vilification, and he is certainly an expert in that art. His signal weakness, however, is that he had no alternative policy to recommend, and that 'he dared not show his colours' (Jebb)—Macedonian or anti-Macedonian. He can only work on the most ignoble passions of his hearers, and urge them to make Demosthenes a victim of the burning resentment inspired by their present humiliations and distresses.

The reply of Demosthenes is a monument of close and elaborate reasoning. He sharply stigmatises the character of the prosecution, and dismisses almost contemptuously all the irrelevancies imported into the case by his opponent. He carefully builds up an historical framework to support his demonstrations, and at each point he strictly proves his statements by the production of evidence. To the great breach in Aeschines' encampment, his own career, Demosthenes recurs again and again, his arguments ever leading to the one conclusion, that Aeschines was a traitor. On the other hand, in his survey of the period in which he himself directed Athenian affairs, he showed, step by step, that his policy was not only the best, but the only one open to Athens, whose present condition compared favourably with the condition of those Hellenes who had been lukewarm in the cause of freedom, or had sided with the foe. He fully admitted that his ministrations had failed to secure, as they were intended to secure, the supremacy of his city: but he could affirm that her honour at least was safe. Binding up his self-praise with the praise of Athens, he could point out that she had maintained the policy which was hers by tradition, and had acted up to her noblest past. This was the strength of his position. He could recall with confidence all the heroism which his city had displayed in bygone times in hurling back the invader, and all the generosity she had evinced in protecting the weak. Little, indeed, now remained to Athens but memories; and Demosthenes in this, his masterpiece, pronounced 'the funeral oration of extinct Athenian and Grecian freedom.' But in doing so, he touched, and, for the hour, awoke, the highest sentiments of his countrymen; and they felt that he was the one man best able to say what might 'quiet' them 'in a death so noble.

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ
ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

ΥΠΕΡ ΚΤΗΣΙΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥ.

Πρῶτον μὲν ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομαι
 πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις, ὅσῃν εὖνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε
 πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν
 εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὃ πέρ ἐστι μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ
 ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐσεβείας τε καὶ δόξης, τοῦτο 5
 παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν, μὴ τὸν ἀντίδικον σύμ-
 βουλον ποιήσασθαι περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ δεῖ
 2 (σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε) ἀλλὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ
 τὸν ὄρκον, ἐν ᾧ πρὸς ἅπασιν τοῖς ἄλλοις δικαίοις καὶ
 τοῦτο γέγραπται, τὸ ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν ἀκροάσασθαι. τοῦτο 10
 δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ προκατεγνωκέναι μηδέν, οὐδὲ τὸ
 τὴν εὖνοιαν ἴσην ἀποδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῇ τάξει καὶ
 τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ, ὡς βεβούληται καὶ προήρηται τῶν ἀγω-
 νιζομένων ἕκαστος, οὕτως ἐᾶσαι χρῆσασθαι.

3 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐλαττοῦμαι κατὰ τουτονὶ τὸν 15

1. 4. ἔπειθ', unaccompanied by δέ, regularly answers πρῶτον μὲν in Demosthenes, §§ 8, 18, 248; so εἴτα, §§ 105, 110, 176, 177, 235, 238-9. Compare μάλιστα μὲν... ἐπεῖτα § 267.

ὃ περ does not relate to the subsequent demonstrative τοῦτο—in that case we should have had ὅ as in §§ 60, 208, 252, or ὅτι as in §§ 8, 198, 264 (ὅπερ ἂν § 197 is different)—but to the second direct object of εὐχομαι, that is, to the whole phrase τοῦτο παραστήσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμῖν. The τοῦτο, as in § 293, anticipates the following infinitival clause, which would otherwise hang very loosely on the construction; and thus the balance of the sentence is preserved. Hence, in

the repeated prayer, § 8, the construction is not parallel; for there ὅτι relates directly to τοῦτο, which is object not of παραστήσαι but of γνῶναι.

2. 10. τό is used to introduce a quotation, whether it be given literally, as § 88 τὸ δ' 'ὕμεις' ὅταν λέγω, § 290 τὸ 'μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν κ.τ.λ.', or in substance, as here and in § 59, where the quoted words are made to fall in with the construction.

If we can trust the copy of the oath found c. Tim. § 151. p. 747, the actual words were ἀκροάσομαι τοῦ τε κατηγοροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὁμοίως ἀμφοῖν.

ἀκροάσασθαι. Wherever no special stress need be laid on the dura-

THE SPEECH OF DEMOSTHENES

ON BEHALF OF CTESIPHON;

OR, CONCERNING THE CROWN.

MEN of Athens, I first pray to all the gods and goddesses that just as much kindly feeling as I constantly cherish both for the state and for you all may await me from you in view of this present trial. I next pray for what, indeed, is particularly for your good and the good of your conscience and character, that the gods may commend to you this course, not to consult the adversary as to how you must listen to me—for it would be heartless to do that—but to consult the laws **2** and your oath, in which, in addition to all the other just requirements, this also has been written, that you hear both sides impartially. And an impartial hearing means not only that you have passed no pre-condemnation on any point, nor only that you render your goodwill in equal measure to both sides, but also that you suffer each of the contending parties to deal with the arrangement of his subject and the mode of his defence exactly as he has wished and deliberately chosen.

*Albeit you
kindly?
should tried*

I, then, in many respects stand at a disadvantage compared **3**

tion, completeness, or date of an action, the aorist form of the infinitive is preferred. Hence the superiority of this reading (Σ) over the vulgate ἀκροᾶσθαι, or the conjecture ἀκροάσεσθαι. See § 57 ἐπαινείν.

11. οὐδέ = 'nor only' in the collocation οὐ μόνον . . . οὐδὲ . . . ἀλλὰ καί, as §§ 93, 107, and, even without μόνον, § 300.

12. After ἴσῃν Dind. has ἀμφοτέροις.

τάξει κ.τ.λ. Cf. § 56. Aeschines (§§ 203-5) bade the dicasts force Demosthenes to answer the charges in the order in which he had presented them. For comparative analyses of the speech of Aeschines and this of

Demosthenes see Introduction II.

13. ἀπολογία in strictness could apply only to one of the contending parties, the defendant; but (§ 266) Aeschines was practically as much on his trial as Demosthenes.

ὥς . . . οὕτως always emphatic (cf. § 277) in this order: so ὅσῃν . . . τοσαύτην above, and many following instances.

In Aristotle βούλησις is the act of proposing an end to oneself; προαίρεσις chooses one means to that end in preference to others.

3. 15. The skeleton of this sentence is: πολλὰ μὲν ἐλαττοῦμαι . . . δύο δὲ . . . , ἐν μὲν . . . (οὐ γάρ . . . ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν [οὐ βούλομαι . . .] οὗτος δὲ . . .) ἕτερον

- ἀγῶνα Αἰσχίνου, δύο δ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ μεγάλα, ἐν μὲν ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀγωνίζομαι (οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον νῦν ἐμοὶ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας διαμαρτεῖν καὶ τούτῳ μὴ ἐλεῖν τὴν γραφὴν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν — οὐ βούλομαι δυσχερὲς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τοῦ λόγου, οὗτος δ' 5 ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ· ἕτερον δ', ὃ φύσει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὑπάρχει, τῶν μὲν λοιδοριῶν καὶ τῶν κατηγοριῶν ἀκούειν ἡδέως, τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἄχθε-
 4 σθαι· τούτων τοίνυν ὃ μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸς ἡδονήν, τούτῳ δέδοται, ὃ δὲ πᾶσιν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐνοχλεῖ, λοιπὸν 10 ἐμοί. κὰν μὲν εὐλαβούμενος τοῦτο μὴ λέγω τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐμαυτῷ, οὐκ ἔχειν ἀπολύσασθαι τὰ κατηγορημένα δόξω οὐδ' ἐφ' οἷς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι δεικνύναι· ἐὰν δ' ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πεποίηκα καὶ πεπολίτευμαι βαδίζω, πολλάκις λέγειν ἀναγκασθῆσομαι περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ. πειράσομαι μὲν οὖν ὥς 15 μετριώτατα τοῦτο ποιεῖν· ὃ τι δ' ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ ἀναγκάξῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν οὗτός ἐστι δίκαιος ἔχειν ὃ τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα ἐνστησάμενος.
- 5 Οἶμαι δ' ὑμᾶς πάντας ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ἂν ὁμολογῆσαι κοινὸν εἶναι τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐμοὶ καὶ Κτησι- 20

δέ.... The πολλὰ μὲν and δύο δέ then are 'accusative of respect' dependent on ἐλαττοῦμαι, and so are ἐν μὲν, ἕτερον δέ, in apposition to δύο. The construction therefore is quite regular, being only extended, not broken, by the parenthesis οὐ γάρ... κατηγορεῖ. The obscurity has arisen from the fact that this parenthesis itself contains an aposiopesis immediately followed by a minor parenthesis un-introduced by any particle. For parentheses see on §§ 126-7-8; for aposiopesis cf. §§ 195, 277.

1. καί, *intensive* = 'really,' 'actually;' see Index.

2. οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων. Compare Thucyd. ii. 42 διδασκαλίαν ποιούμενος μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ

οἷς τῶνδε μὴδὲν ὑπάρχει ὁμοίως. Demosthenes 'risks *far more*' than his opponent, which by the Greek figure of speech, *litotes*, (of which many examples follow below, cf. οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος § 5, § 9, etc.), he expresses by saying that he 'does *not* risk an *equal* amount.'

3. νῦν, i. e. after enjoying your *εὐνοία* so long.

6. ἐκ περιουσίας literally means 'out of a superabundance.' As we might say, Aeschines does not embark all his means in the venture, but only a 'spare fund,' the loss of which would leave his capital intact. What Aeschines would lose, if he failed to carry the fifth part of the votes of the dicasts, would be the sum of 1000

with Aeschines throughout the whole of this trial, and in two, men of Athens, which are actually great. In the first, because I contend for far different stakes: for it is far from the same thing for me now to forfeit your goodwill and for my opponent not to carry his indictment. To me it means—I wish however to say nothing distressing at the beginning of my speech: only my opponent accuses me at a risk which he can afford. I am at a disadvantage too in a second respect, the tendency which is naturally inherent in all men, on one hand to listen to invective and accusation with pleasure, and on the other hand to be vexed with those who praise themselves. Of these 4 two parts, accordingly, the pleasure-giving part has been assigned to my opponent, and the other, which in the opinion of all (to speak roundly) is tiresome, remains for me. And if indeed, fearing to tire, I omit to speak of my own doings, it will be thought that I am not competent to clear myself of the accusations brought against me, or to proceed to show the grounds on which I think that I am worthy to receive honour: yet, if I travel to my acts and my measures of state, I shall be compelled to speak frequently of myself. I will try, then, to do this as modestly as possible, and so, whatever mention of myself the nature of the case may necessitate, for that my opponent must in fairness bear the blame, as the man who has instituted a trial of this character.

I think that you would all agree, men of Athens, that this 5 trial is shared by me as well as Ctesiphon, and that it demands

drachmae, to be paid as a fine, and the competency to appear again in any similar suit. For this usage of περιουσία cf. Thucyd. v. 103 ἐλπίς δέ, κινδύνῳ παραμύθιον οὔσα, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους αὐτῇ, κὰν βλάβῃ, οὐ καθέλειεν. In Plato, Theaet. 154 D ἐκ περιουσίας means 'with our surplus of mental energy.' Such renderings as 'wantonly' are too remote from the original force of the word and quite unsupported.

7. Λοιδוריῶν.. κατηγοριῶν. For the distinction see § 123.

9. τοίνυν has 'two distinct usages, as a particle of inference (therefore) or continuation (moreover, furthermore),' Shilleto, de Falsa Leg. § 10. p. 344.

13. ἐφ' ἃ καί, 'est καί etiam, et notandum hyperbaton,' Dissen. In that case the following words would be a compound expression like ἐτραγώδει καὶ δείξει § 13, where see note. But the trajection of καί is not necessary: compare ὧν ἡ διακεχείρικα ἡ πεπολίτευμαι § 111. More than Demosthenes' statesmanship, his whole life also, was attacked by Aeschines.

5. 2. ἐμοὶ καί. Most MSS. read ἐμοί τε καί, which Dissen would defend. The text has the advantage, not only of exhibiting the commoner usage, especially with κοινός, but also of leaving the stress where it is wanted, that is, on ἐμοί.

Aeschines made a faint attempt to

- φῶντι καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονος ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμοί· πάντων
 μὲν γὰρ ἀποστερεῖσθαι λυπηρόν ἐστι καὶ χαλεπόν,
ἄλλως τε καὶ ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ τῷ τοῦτο συμβαίνει, μάλιστα
 δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν εὐνοίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, ὅσῳ περ
 6 καὶ τὸ τυχεῖν τούτων μέγιστόν ἐστιν. περὶ τούτων δ' 5
 ὄντος τουτουὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ἀξιῶ καὶ δέομαι πάντων
 ὁμοίως ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαί μου περὶ τῶν κατηγορημένων
 ἀπολογουμένου δικαίως, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, οὓς
 ὁ τιθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς Σόλων, εὖνους ὦν ὑμῖν καὶ δημοτικός,
 οὐ μόνον τῷ γράψαι κυρίου ᾤετο δεῖν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ 10
 7 τῷ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὁμωμοκέναι, οὐκ ἀπιστῶν ὑμῖν, ὥς
 γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς δια-
 βολάς, αἷς ἐκ τοῦ πρότερος λέγειν ὁ διώκων ἰσχύει,
 οὐκ ἔνι τῷ φεύγοντι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τῶν δικαζόντων
 ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν φυλάττων 15
 καὶ τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὕστερον δίκαια εὐνοϊκῶς προσδέξεται,
 καὶ παρασχὼν ἑαυτὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις ἀκ-
 ροατὴν οὕτω τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιήσεται περὶ ἀπάντων.
 8 Μέλλων δὲ τοῦ τε ἰδίου βίου παντός, ὡς ἔοικε, λόγον
 διδόναι τήμερον καὶ τῶν κοινῇ πεπολιτευμένων, [βοῦ- 20
 λομαι] πάλιν τοὺς θεοὺς παρακαλέσαι, καὶ ἐναντίον
 ὑμῶν εὐχομαι πρῶτον μὲν, ὅσῃν εὖνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ
 διατελῶ τῇ τε πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι
 μοι εἰς τουτονὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἔπειθ' ὃ τι μέλλει συνοίσειν
 καὶ πρὸς εὐδοσίαν κοινῇ καὶ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἐκάστω, 25

keep Demosthenes out of court alto-
 gether: see *contra Ctes.* § 200 καὶ τί
 δεῖ σε Δημοσθένην παρακαλεῖν; κ.τ.λ.

1. πάντων = 'anything whatsoever':
 cf. πάντες § 75 (where the vulgate
 however adds οἱ ἄλλοι), πᾶν, ὅτι κ.τ.λ.
 § 67, πανταχοῦ § 81, πᾶσαν § 246.

6. 8. δικαίως must be taken with
 ἀκοῦσαι.

9. ὁ τιθείς, almost a fixed title, 'the

enactor'; hence the present participle
 is retained.

11. After δικάζοντας the vulgate
 adds ὑμᾶς.

7. 15. φυλάττων. The vulgate read-
 ing διαφυλάττων = 'strictly preserving',
 —not merely 'per totum cursum cau-
 sae usque ad finem,' (Disson.)

6. ὕστερον. Dind. prefers τοῦ λέ-
 γοντος ὕστερον, but this violates the rule

far more serious attention on my part. For while it is a cruel and hard lot to be robbed of anything, especially if the loss fall upon a man through the action of an enemy, the hardest lot of all is to be robbed of your goodwill and benevolence, just as *drst.* also to win them is the greatest happiness. So, seeing that the **6** present trial is for these stakes, I claim and require of all of you alike to hear my reply to the accusations in a just spirit, as you are bidden by the laws; whose original enactor, Solon, loyal as he was to you and a friend to popular freedom, thought they ought to be authoritative, not only by our inscribing them on the tables, but also by the jurors having sworn to obey them—not because he mistrusted you, as **7** is plain to me, but because he saw that it was not possible for the defendant to make his way past the charges and the calumnies, in which the prosecutor is strong because he is the first to speak, unless each of you the jurors, preserving his righteousness towards the gods, shall entertain with good feeling the claims of the second speaker also, and only after he has lent himself as an equitable and impartial hearer to both sides shall form his discriminate opinion on the whole matter.

As to-day I am about to render an account of the whole, **8** so it seems, of my private life as well as of my public ministrations, I wish once more to make the gods my advocates, and in your presence I pray, first, that as much good will as I constantly cherish both to the state and to all of you may be waiting for me in view of this present trial, and next, that the gods will suggest to all of you to come to that decision con-

that an attributive is properly placed between the article and the participle.

17. παρασχών . . οὕτω, lit. 'having lent himself . . on that condition only.' οὕτω in this usage points out that the participle contains the most important predication: so, with a genitive absolute, § 27. For instances of the emphatic participle cf. §§ 21, 58, 139, 150, 175, and consult Shilleto, Thucyd.

i. 20. 3.

8. 19. ὥς ἔοικε is constantly used to modify, as Greek taste required, any very general expression, cf. § 271. Here, however, and again in § 212, there is a more definite reference: 'according to Aeschines' speech.'

20. βούλομαι is followed in some MSS. by the words καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ.

24. ὅ τι . . τοῦτο. See § 1 note.

τοῦτο παραστήσαι πᾶσιν ὑμῖν περὶ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς γινῶναι.

9 Εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ὧν ἐδίδωκε μόνον κατηγόρησεν Αἰσχίνης, ἀγὼ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ προβουλεύματος[†] εὐθὺς ἂν ἀπελογούμην· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐκ ἐλάττω λόγον τᾶλλα διε- 5 ξιὼν ἀνήλωκε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα κατεψεύσατό μου, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ δίκαιον ἅμα βραχέα, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ τούτων εἰπεῖν πρῶτον, ἵνα μηδεὶς ὑμῶν τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις ἡγμένος ἀλλοτριώτερον τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς γραφῆς δικαίων ἀκούη μου.

10

10 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἰδίων ὅσα λοιδορούμενος βεβλασφήμηκε περὶ ἐμοῦ, θεάσασθε ὡς ἀπλᾶ καὶ δίκαια λέγω. εἰ μὲν ἴστε με τοιοῦτον οἶον οὗτος ἤτιᾶτο (οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθί που βεβίωκα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν), μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀνάσχησθε, μηδ' εἰ πάντα τὰ κοινὰ ὑπέρευν πεπολίτευμαι, 15 ἀλλ' ἀναστάντες καταψηφίσασθε ἥδη· εἰ δὲ πολλῶ βελτίω τούτου καὶ ἐκ βελτιόνων, καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν μετρίων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς λέγω, χείρονα καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ὑπειλήφατε καὶ γινώσκετε, τούτῳ μὲν μηδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πιστεύετε (δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως ἅπαντ' 20 ἐπλάττετο), ἐμοὶ δ', ἣν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον εὖνοιαν ἐνδέδειχθε ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀγώνων τῶν πρότερον, καὶ νυνὶ

9. 3. περὶ ὧν ἐδίδωκε = περὶ ἐκείνων ἃ ἐδίδωκε. Cf. § 118.

4 περὶ αὐτοῦ τ. π., 'directly concerning.' When a case of αὐτός is used with a substantive attended by a preposition its force falls generally on the preposition. Compare παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδικήματα = 'close on the heels of the transgressions,' §§ 13, 15; ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας, 'in strict accordance with the truth,' § 22, and many subsequent instances. Compare § 126 note.

6. τὰ πλεῖστα here is the adverbial accusative, 'for the most part,' as τὰ πολλὰ § 196, not as ἃ κατεψεύδου

§ 11 (cf. ὁ §§ 111, 213), cognate.

9. τοῖς ἔξωθεν λόγοις are discussions of matters *not mentioned in the indictment*, ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς § 34.

τῶν .. δικαίων is genitive after ἀκούη, after which verb the enclitic μου is said to be a second genitive. But the only other passage adduced as an instance of a double genitive with ἀκούω is Hom. Od. xvii. 114, 115 αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς ταλασίφρονος οὐ ποτ' ἔφασκεν ζωοῦ οὐδὲ θανόντος ἐπιχθονίαν τευ ἀκούσαι. This however is not parallel; but is an instance, rather, of the use of the genitive in the partici-

cerning this indictment which is likely to benefit you both in reputation collectively and in righteousness individually.

Had Aeschines, then, spoken in his accusation of those 9 points only which he was prosecuting, I too should at once reply in direct reference to the Previous Resolution. But since he has expended quite as much argument in enumerating irrelevant topics, and for the most part has spoken falsely against me, I think it necessary and at the same time fair to say a little, men of Athens, about these matters first, that none of you, led astray by his extraneous arguments, may hear with less friendly feelings my pleas in answer to the indictment.

Remark at once how simply and fairly I speak of the libels 10 which he has uttered about me in his abusive attack on my private history. If, on the one hand, you know me to be of such a character as he has alleged—for I have lived nowhere else but in your midst—do not even tolerate a sound from me, even though all my public ministry has been extravagantly good, but rise up and give your verdict against me instantly. If, on the other hand, you have understood and decide now that I am a far better man than my opponent, and of a better stock, and that I and mine are inferior to no average citizen—that I may say nothing offensive—then do not believe my opponent even in his other statements, for it is clear that he concocted all alike; but on this occasion also afford to me the goodwill which throughout all my career you have indicated in my

pial construction after verbs of 'seeing,' 'knowing,' 'showing,' etc., which is found in Plato, as οὐπω εἶδες αὐτῶν μενόντων and other examples quoted in Riddell's Digest of Platonic Idioms, attached to his edition of the Apology. Hence we had better consider μον here as simply a possessive genitive after τῶν δικαίων, as in § 7 τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστερον δίκαια.

10. 11. Demosthenes here answers Aesch. con. Ct. §§ 51 sqq., 171 sqq.

ῥα should, formally, have preceded περὶ τῶν ιδίων, and its ante-

cedent, which if expressed would have been something like περὶ πάντων, is the supplement of λέγω. Precisely parallel is ὑπὲρ μὲν .. ἐξετάσω § 11. But for such parallel passages we might have translated ῥα βεβλασφήμηκε, 'as far as regards all his calumny.'

18. καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμούς is parenthetic and asyndeton.

20. ὑπέρ. For this and other prepositions see Index.

21. ἐπλάττετο is transitive § 231, and probably so here.

Aeschines has
said he is con-
sidering in Demos.

ethos

- 11 παράσχεσθε. κακοήθης δ' ὢν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦτο παντελῶς εὔηθες ᾤήθης, τοὺς περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους ἀφέντα με πρὸς τὰς λοιδορίας τὰς παρὰ σοῦ τρέψεσθαι. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω τοῦτο· οὐχ οὕτω τετύφωμαι· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἃ κατε- 5 ψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες ἐξετάσω, τῆς δὲ πομπείας ταύτης τῆς ἀνέδην γεγεννημένης ὕστερον, ἃν βουλομένοις ἀκούειν ἧ τουτοισί, μνησθήσομαι.
- 12 Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατηγορημένα πολλὰ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων μεγάλας καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας οἱ νόμοι διδόασιν τιμωρίας· 10 τοῦ δὲ παρόντος ἀγῶνος ἡ προαίρεσις αὕτη· ἐχθροῦ μὲν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει καὶ ὕβριν καὶ λοιδορίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, τῶν

11. 2. For πεπραγμένων καὶ πεπολιτευμένων, as also for κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες, see § 13 note.

5. τετύφωμαι, from τύφος, 'smoke' or 'mist.' Another derivation is suggested by the lexicographer, Harpocration, ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν τυφανικῶν καλουμένων πνευμάτων (*whirlwinds, raising furious eddies of dust*), which he says create madness, quoting Alcaeus,—πάμπαν δὲ τυφῶς ἐκφέλετο φρένας.

6. πομπείας, see § 122.

7. βουλομένοις. Βούλομαι is to θέλω as the 'positive wish is to the mere negative idea of willingness.' Shilleto, *de Falsa Leg.* § 26. p. 348.

12. 9. In §§ 12-16 the separate propositions are clear. Demosthenes says that the prosecution is at once self-condemned, because it is obviously malicious, futile, unfair, late, inconsistent, irregular, and brutal. But in the connection of these propositions, which are closely compressed, there is considerable ἀσάφεια, of which the Scholiast complains.

The key-note, which runs through the whole passage, is 'all the charges are, on the very face of them, unjust and untrue:' cf. § 12 εἴ περ ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, § 13 οὐσί γε τηλικούτοις.. εἴ

περ ἐξελέγχειν ἐνόμιζεν, § 14 εἴ τι.. ἑώρα, § 15 ἐκστὰς ἐκ τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ, § 17 πάντα τοῖνυν.. οὔτε δικαίως οὐτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμῶς εἰρημένα.

The main logical difficulty occurs in the two transitions οὐ γὰρ ἀφαίρεισθαι κ.τ.λ. and οὐ γὰρ δῆπου κ.τ.λ., both introduced by γάρ.

This particle has occasionally a very pregnant sense, explaining a thought which may be gathered from the context, but has been left unexpressed. Instances are common, in dramatic dialogue, when we must supply a thought equivalent to our 'yes' or 'no' before a sentence introduced by γάρ. Sometimes a *condition* must be understood, and γάρ rendered 'for, were it so,' § 47, 197, or 'for, were it not so:' cf. Xen. Anab. vii. 6. 33 ἐπιστευόμενῃ δὲ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν με ἔπεμπον πρὸς ὑμᾶς. Still more abrupt is Thuc. i. 17 οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεις, which is to be translated, 'But this timid policy is to be understood only of the tyrants in Old Greece; for those in Sicily,' etc. Compare the precisely parallel use of *nam* in Cicero, pro Planc. xvi. 38 'Nam Maeciam.. vo-

many former trials. Nay, Aeschines, evil-minded as you are, 11 that was a simple-minded fancy of yours, that I should let the discussion of my conduct and my statesmanship go, and should turn aside to answer invective issuing from you. Be sure I shall not do so—my mind is not so clouded : but I shall first sift the falsehoods and libels you cast on me touching my statesmanship, and then, for this ribaldry so unrestrainedly uttered, I shall afterwards, if my audience care to listen, have a word to say.

Now the crimes alleged against me are many, and are those 12 for some of which the laws appoint great or rather capital penalties : yet the scheme of the present suit is this. While it combines the spite and insolence and invective and contumely and all the similar characteristics of a private enemy, nevertheless, even

fine reasoning

luisti' = 'I omit the Maecian tribe: for you intended the Maecian tribe,' etc.

In the first transition here the full force of the γάρ is 'And they are not true; for, if they be; ' in the second, 'But my conduct was not indictable; for, had it been so.'

Thus the connection of thought in the whole passage is as follows:—

§ 12. I am charged with terrible crimes: but the scope and spirit of the prosecution condemn it. Although showing every symptom of personal hostility, nevertheless it does not enable the state to punish me, even if the charges were true. § 13. Of course they are not true (v. note on *εἶπερ . . ἦσαν*), for, if they be true, there is no need to rob me of a fair trial, but he should simply have impeached or indicted me at the time, had my acts been impeachable or indictable. Of course they were neither; for, had I been guilty, we may be sure that he would not have refrained from indicting me, when we now see him prosecuting Ctesiphon in order to strike a blow at me. § 14. So, if I had been guilty of the other crimes which he enumerates, he could have used the

proper legal machinery to punish me (which he did not do), and then his present appearance in court would have been consistent with his past acts. § 15. Instead of this, he makes an irregular attack on me, and that too through Ctesiphon. § 16. Lastly, to recur to our private hostility, he ought to have asked me to settle that privately, without harming an innocent third person.

9. After πολλά Dind. reads καὶ δεινά.

καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐνίων. The καὶ must join another predicate to the preceding πολλά. This second predicate is to be found in the antecedent latent in the relative ὧν. The full phrase would be πολλά [καὶ δεινά] καὶ τοιαῦτα περὶ ὧν ἐνίων.

10. καί, *corrective*, = 'or rather: ' see Index.

11. αὐτῇ. Dind., with most MSS., has αὐτῇ, with no stop after it ('the scheme of the prosecution *in itself*, *on the face of it*, is malicious and futile') which seems more forcible.

13. πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα is to be taken with ἐχθροῦ, the force of which continues through the whole clause: 'the spite, and insolence, .. and all the

- μέντοι κατηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν αἰτιῶν τῶν εἰρημένων, εἴ περ
 ᾔσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὐκ ἔνι τῇ πόλει δίκην ἀξίαν λαβεῖν, οὐδ'
 13 ἐγγύς. οὐ γὰρ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ προσελθεῖν τῷ δήμῳ
 καὶ λόγου τυχεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ἐπηρείας τάξει καὶ φθόνου
 τοῦτο ποιεῖν· οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀρθῶς ἔχον οὔτε 5
 πολιτικὸν οὔτε δίκαιόν ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλ'
 ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντά με ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν, οὐσί γε τηλι-
 κούτοις ἡλίκα νῦν ἐτραγῶδει καὶ διεξήει, ταῖς ἐκ τῶν
 νόμων τιμωρίαις παρ' αὐτὰ τὰδίκηματα χρῆσθαι, εἰ
 μὲν εἰσαγγελίας ἀξια πράττοντά με ἑώρα, εἰσαγγέλ- 10
 λοντα καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἰς κρίσιν καθιστάντα-
 παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ δὲ γράφοντα παράνομα, παρανόμων γρα-
 φόμενον· οὐ γὰρ δήπου Κτησιφῶντα μὲν δύναται διώκειν
 δι' ἐμέ, ἐμὲ δέ, εἴ περ ἐξελέγχειν ἐνόμιζεν, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν
 14 ἐγράψατο. καὶ μὴν εἴ τι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν νυνὶ διέβαλλε 15
 καὶ διεξήει ἢ καὶ ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδικοῦντά με ὑμᾶς ἑώρα,
 εἰσὶ νόμοι περὶ πάντων καὶ τιμωρίαι καὶ ἀγῶνες καὶ
 κρίσεις, καὶ τούτοις ἐξῆν ἅπασι χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὀπηνίκα-
 ἐφαίνετο ταῦτα πεποικῶς καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κεχρη-
 μένος τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ, ὡμολογεῖτο ἂν ἡ κατηγορία τοῖς 20
 15 ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. νῦν δ' ἐκστὰς τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας ὁδοῦ

similar characteristics, of a private enemy.'

1. μέντοι answers μέν, §§ 58, 153, 299, 'yet, be that as it may.'

εἴ περ ᾔσαν, as § 14 εἰ ἑώρα, of course implies the falsity of the supposition.

2. οὐδ' ἐγγύς, § 96.

13. 3. οὐ γάρ κ.τ.λ., cf. Aeschin. § 202.

4. οὐδ' = 'and certainly not.' For τάξει see Index.

6. πολιτικόν is rendered 'statesmanlike' by Shilleto, who quotes this passage, F. L. § 114. p. 373; but here seems rather to mean 'what one citizen should do to another,' like the

Latin *civilis*.

7. γε, ironical, 'being, as we must suppose;' so often below.

8. ἐτραγῶδει. Demosthenes is constantly referring to the fact that Aeschines was once an actor, cf. § 262 note.

ἐτραγῶδει καὶ διεξήει. These 'double-shot' expressions, which really imply only one verbal action (and are often best translated by a verb and adverb) are very common in Demosthenes. In this speech we have § 11 κατεψεύδου καὶ διέβαλλες, § 14 διέβαλλε καὶ διεξήει, § 21 ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι, § 22 ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξῆλθες, § 40 δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται, § 31 πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι, § 111

if the accusations and the charges that have been stated were (as they are not) true, it is not put in the power of the state to take adequate or even partially adequate satisfaction for them.

For, if the charges be true, there is no need to try to rob me 13 of the privilege of appearing before the people and of obtaining a hearing, much less to do so in an attitude of spite and jealousy. I call heaven to witness, that it is neither straightforward nor Athenian nor legal, men of Athens. He ought rather, on the occasions on which he saw me wronging the state—occasions, we must remember, so enormous as he but now dramatically enumerated—to have employed the penalties provided by the laws close on the heels of the transgressions, if, for instance, he saw me committing acts that called for impeachment, by impeaching me and in this way bringing me to judgment in your courts, or, if he saw me making unconstitutional proposals, by indicting me for breach of the constitution. For I do not imagine that he can now be prosecuting Ctesiphon to get at me, yet would have refrained from indicting me personally had he indeed thought he could carry a conviction. Still further, if he saw me wronging you in any of the other points 14 which he but now libellously enumerated or in any respect whatsoever, there are laws which reach all crimes and penalties and trials and judgments, and all these it was competent to him to use; and the moment he had shown himself to have done this and to have dealt after this fashion with his relations towards me, his present appearance as prosecutor would have been consistent with his past conduct. But, as it is, having swerved from the straight and just road, and having shirked the investiga- 15

διέβαλλε καὶ διαρίζετο, § 274 διωρισμένα καὶ τεταγμένα, § 283 καταρώμενος καὶ διομνύμενος, § 293 ἐβλαπτε καὶ διέβαλλε.

For τραγ. almost = 'sensationally,' see Jebb, Attic Orators, vol. i. p. ci.

9. παρ' αὐτὰ τ. See § 9 note.

χρῆσθαι. Supply ἔδει from οὐ δεῖ above, as φησί from οὐ φησί, Fals. Leg. § 46. p. 354, and see below § 104.

13. οὐ δήπου κ.τ.λ. The οὐ preceding the two clauses introduced respectively and opposed to one another, by μέν and δέ, denies that the antithesis, which they contain, can stand: 'No one will believe that, while on the

one hand he can prosecute Ctesiphon in order to injure me, he would not, on the other hand, have indicted me personally,' etc. Cf. § 260 μὴ γάρ κ.τ.λ.

14. ἐξελέγχειν. There is a variant ἐξελέγξιν.

14.15. καὶ μὴν, = 'and undoubtedly,' 'and what is more,'—is never adversative.

18. After κρίσεις Dind. reads πικρὰ καὶ μεγάλη ἔχουσαι τὰπιτίμια, and after χρῆσθαι has κατ' ἑμοῦ.

20. τοῖς πρὸς ἐμέ. So in De Symm. § 2 περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα = 'concerning our relations with the king.'

- καὶ φυγῶν τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα ἐλέγχους, τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις αἰτίας καὶ σκώμματα καὶ λαιδορίας συμφορήσας ὑποκρίνεται. εἴτα κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἐμοῦ, κρίνει δὲ τουτονί, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος ὅλου τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἔχθραν προῖσταται, οὐδαμοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτην 5 ἀπηντηκῶς ἐμοὶ τὴν ἐτέρου ζητῶν ἐπιτιμίαν ἀφελέσθαι φαίνεται. καίτοι πρὸς ἅπασιν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος ἔχει, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως ἂν λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἔχθρας ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκαιον ἦν 10 τὸν ἐξετασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι, οὐ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνίζεσθαι παραλείπειν, ἐτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ κακόν τι δώσομεν ζητεῖν· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ ἀδικίας τοῦτό γε.
- 17 Πάντα μὲν τοίνυν τὰ κατηγορημένα ὁμοίως ἐκ τούτων ἂν τις ἴδοι οὔτε δικαίως οὔτ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας οὐδεμιᾶς 15 εἰρημένα· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐξετάσαι, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς πρεσβείας κατεψεύσατό μου, τὰ πεπραγμένα ἑαυτῷ μετὰ Φιλοκράτους ἀνατιθεὶς ἐμοί. ἔστι δ' ἀναγκαῖον ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προσήκον ἴσως, ὥς κατ' ἐκείνους 20 τοὺς χρόνους εἶχε τὰ πράγματα ἀναμνήσαι, ἵνα πρὸς τὸν ὑπάρχοντα καιρὸν ἕκαστα θεωρῇτε.

15. 1. παρ' αὐτά, § 9 note, § 226.

3. συμφορήσας, 'having brought together from all sides.'
ὑποκρίνεται, § 262.

κατηγορεῖ = 'brings charges against,' κρίνει = 'puts on his trial,' 'brings to the bar.' The same opposition is found Falsa Leg. § 333. p. 434.

5. ἐπὶ ταύτην. For the uses of prepositions in this speech see Index.

6. ἐπιτιμίαν. Aeschines laid the penalty in this action at fifty talents. If Ctesiphon were convicted, he would lose his civil rights (i. e. he would be ἀτιμος) till he paid this fine, or such a

reduced amount as the jury should fix.

16. 8. After τοῖς ἄλλοις Dind. has δικαίοις.

ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχει, 'may be able to say'—a modified future, very frequent in Demosthenes.

9. καὶ μάλ' = 'in quite a high degree.' Cf. § 3 καὶ μέγала.

11. ἐξετασμὸν is said not to occur elsewhere till Plutarch. Demosthenes himself uses ἐξέτασις in other places, as § 226.

12. ἐτέρῳ δ' ὅτῳ. Note the attraction of antecedent to relative. Dissen would explain this as an emphatic in-

tions which should have closely followed the transactions, these long ages after, having composed a motley part of charges, gibes and invective, he plays the actor. Beyond this, while he accuses me he sues my client; and, though he pushes his enmity against me to the fore of the whole trial, yet, without ever having confronted me to settle that, he openly seeks to take away the civil rights of a third person.

And yet, in addition to all the other pleas which one may 16 urge on behalf of Ctesiphon, I think one might say this also with perfect reasonableness, that we ought in fairness to have conducted the examination of our private enmity privately, and not, while shrinking from conflict with one another, to look about for some third person to whom we may do a mischief. For that is an extravagance of injustice.

Although therefore one may see from this that all his accu- 17 sations alike have been brought forward without justice and with no basis of truth, yet I wish to sift each of them singly too; and particularly all the falsehoods he uttered against me in reference to the Peace and the Embassy, palming off on me what he did himself in concert with Philocrates.

Now it is necessary, men of Athens, and perhaps becoming, to remind you how the situation stood throughout those periods, in order that you may view each set of transactions in the light of the then urgent crisis.

version of ὅτ' ἄν δ' ἐτέρω, and would take the phrase as an indirect question: but his method, besides being unsupported by evidence, would fail to account for the numerous other instances of this attraction. E. g. § 200 οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὄντινα.

17. 14. Demosthenes begins to answer Aeschines § 58 sqq.

The historical questions raised in the course of this speech are discussed in order in Introduction I.

21. After ἀναμνήσαι Dind. reads ὑμᾶς, which seems indispensable.

22. ὑπάρχοντα, 'in the light of the pressing occasion.' For the significations of this 'chameleon-like' word, which always takes its special shade of meaning from its surroundings, see Index.

ἕκαστα, 'each set of transactions' —so often below. Both Latin and Greek prefer the neuter plural of adjectives and pronouns instead of the singular, unless the fact referred to is to be marked as particular and isolated.

- 18 Τοῦ γὰρ Φωκικοῦ συστάντος πολέμου, οὐ δι' ἐμέ (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε ἐπολιτευόμεν πω τότε), πρῶτον μὲν ὑμεῖς οὕτω διέκεισθε ὥστε Φωκέας μὲν βούλεσθαι σωθῆναι, καίπερ οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντας ὁρῶντες, Θηβαίοις δ' ὅτι οὖν ἂν ἐφησθῆναι παθοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐδ' ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς 5 ὀργιζόμενοι· οἷς γὰρ εὐτυχήκεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, οὐ μετρίως ἐκέχρηντο· ἔπειθ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος ἅπασα διειστήκει, καὶ οὐθ' οἱ μισοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως ἴσχυον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς, οὐθ' οἱ πρότερον δι' ἐκείνων ἄρχοντες κύριοι τῶν πόλεων ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ τις ἦν ἄκριτος 10 καὶ παρὰ τούτοις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἔρις καὶ 19 ταραχή. ταῦτα δ' ὁρῶν ὁ Φίλιππος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀφανῆ) τοῖς παρ' ἐκάστοις προδόταις χρήματα ἀναλίσκων πάντας συνέκρουε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν· εἴτ' ἐν οἷς ἡμέραν ἄλλοι καὶ κακῶς ἐφρόνουν, αὐτὸς παρεσκευάζετο 15 καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐφύετο. ὥς δὲ ταλαιπωρούμενοι τῷ μήκει τοῦ πολέμου οἱ τότε μὲν βαρεῖς νῦν δ' ἀτυχεῖς Θηβαῖοι φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἦσαν ἀναγκασθησόμενοι καταφεύγειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, Φίλιππος, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γένοιτο μηδέ συνέλθοιεν αἱ πόλεις, ὑμῖν μὲν εἰρήνην ἐκείνοις δὲ βοή- 20 20 θειαν ἐπηγγείλατο. τί οὖν συνηγωνίσαστο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ λαβεῖν ὀλίγον δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἐκόντας ἐξαπατωμένους; ἡ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, εἴτε χρὴ κακίαν εἴτ' ἄγνοιαν

18. 1. γάρ, *narrative*, §§ 32, 42, etc.

συστάντος πολέμου is a pregnant expression, the verb in itself signifying a hostile encounter, 'when the Phocian war had come to blows.' The same phrase occurs Hom. II. xiv. 96, Thuc. i. 15.

οὐ... πω τότε. Demosthenes' first political speech, *De Symmoriis*, was delivered the following year.

3. σωθῆναι, 'to escape destruction.' After the sacrilegious acts of the Phocians even Athens could not de-

sire them to be victorious.

4. οὐ δίκαια, οὐ μετρίως, *litotes*.

8. οἱ μισοῦντες Ἀ. Arcadians, Mes-senians, Argives.

9. οἱ... ἄρχοντες are the *δεκαρχαίαι* (Xen. Hell. iii. 5. 13): see Introd. I.

19. 13. τοῖς... προδόταις, § 295.

14. συνέκρουε, 'bring into collision,' hence 'wear out against one another,' § 163, Thuc. i. 64.

πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττεν. Compare contra Aristocr. § 103. p. 654 ἡ γὰρ ἐκείνων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ταραχή

When the conflict began in the Phocian war, not owing to 18 me, for you know I had not yet commenced public life at that date—in the first place you were so disposed that you wished the Phocians to hold their own, although you saw them acting most wrongly, and would have exulted over any sufferings of the Thebans, your anger against them being neither unreasonable nor unjust; for they had abused their success at Leuctra. In the next place the whole of the Peloponnese was divided into parties, and those who hated the Lacedaemonians were not strong enough to destroy them, nor those who were formerly supreme through Spartan support able to control their states; but there was a kind of promiscuous contention and turmoil both in these and in all the other communities. Now seeing this 19—for it was not hidden—Philip, by lavishing gold on the traitors in each community, brought all into collision and threw them into domestic chaos: and more than this, on the blunders and bad policy of others he was building up his own preparations and growing great to the ruin of all. Next, when it was evident to all that the once burdensome but now hapless Thebans, distressed by the length of the war, would be compelled to fly to you for refuge, in order to prevent this occurring and to hinder the union of the states, Philip promised peace to you and assistance to them.

What then helped him to dupe you under an almost voluntary 20 delusion? The conduct of the other Hellenes, whether we ought to call it cowardice or ignorance or both of these—who,

καὶ ὑποψία. Olynth. § 14. p. 22 *στασιάζουσι καὶ τεταραγμένοις*, Thuc. ii. 65 τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐταράχθησαν, etc. From these passages it appears that the phrase does not refer to the relations between the states, but to the internal condition of each state—like *ταραχή* just above. εἴτ', § 22.

ἐν οἷς (sc. χρόνοις, Dissen.) is more probably cognate, 'on their blunders he based his own preparations:' for this use of ἐν cf. § 198

ἐνευδοκιμεῖν.

15. *κακῶς ἐφρόνουν* = *dissidebant*, Dissen: or, 'followed a foolish policy.

16. *ταλαιπωρούμενοι*, Fals. Leg. § 154. p. 385.

19. *γένοιτο*. There is a variant *γένηται*, for which use of the subjunctive cf. § 32 note.

20. 22. *λαβεῖν*, 'catch,' 'dupe,' cf. § 40. *ὀλίγου δεῖν* goes with *ἐκόντας*, 'in an almost voluntary deception.' Cf. § 68.

ἢ τῶν ἄλλων . . εἰπεῖν. Cf. § 270

εἶτε καὶ ἀμφότερα ταυτ' εἰπεῖν, οἱ πόλεμον συνεχῇ καὶ μακρὸν πολεμούντων ὑμῶν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπὲρ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων, ὥς ἔργῳ φανερόν γέγονεν, οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε σώμασιν οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἀπάντων συνελάβανον ὑμῖν· οἷς καὶ δικαίως καὶ προσηκόντως ὀργιζόμενοι 5 ἐτοίμως ὑπηκούσατε τῷ Φιλίππῳ. ἡ μὲν οὖν τότε συγχωρηθεῖσα εἰρήνη διὰ ταυτ', οὐ δι' ἐμέ, ὥς οὗτος διέβαλλεν, ἐπράχθη· τὰ δὲ τούτων ἀδικήματα καὶ δωροδοκήματα ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων,

21 ἂν τις ἐξετάξῃ δικαίως, αἷτια εὐρήσει. καὶ ταυτὶ πάνθ' 10 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκριβολογοῦμαι καὶ διεξέρχομαι. εἰ γὰρ εἶναί τι δόκοίη τὰ μάλιστα ἐν τούτοις ἀδίκημα, οὐδὲν ἐστὶ δήπου πρὸς ἐμέ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος εἰπὼν καὶ μνησθεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἀριστόδημος ἦν ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὁ δ' ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ γράψας καὶ ἑαυτὸν μετὰ 15 τούτου μισθώσας ἐπὶ ταῦτα Φιλοκράτης ὁ Ἀγνούσιος, ὁ σὸς Αἰσχίνῃ κοινωνός, οὐχ ὁ ἐμός, οὐδ' ἂν σὺ διαρραγῆς ψευδόμενος, οἱ δὲ συνειπόντες ὅτου δήποτε ἔνεκα (ἐγὼ γὰρ τοῦτό γ' ἐν τῷ παρόντι) Εὐβουλος καὶ Κηφισο-

22 φῶν· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ. ἀλλ' ὅμως, τούτων τοιού- 20 των ὄντων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτω δεικνυμένων, εἰς τοῦθ' ἦκεν ἀναιδείας, ὥστ' ἐτόλμα λέγειν ὡς ἄρα ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης αἷτιος γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κεκωλυκῶς εἶην τὴν πόλιν μετὰ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἑλλή-

τὴν ἐμὴν εἶτε κ.τ.λ., contr. Aristocr. § 156. p. 671 ἡ ὑμετέρα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἶτε χρὴ φιλανθρωπίαν λέγειν εἶθ' ὅτι δήποτε, Plato, Theag. p. 121 ἡ τοῦ νῆος τουτουῖ εἶτε φυτεῖαν εἶτε παιδοποιεῖν δεῖ αὐτὴν ὀνομάζειν, Laws, vii. p. 808, Cicero, N. D. I. 3. 4. Auctor ad Herenn. iv. 29 (from Dissen).

6. ὑπηκούσατε is more than 'lent an ear'; it is 'answered in the affir-

mative.'

9. ἐν αὐτῇ, 'in the concluding of the peace,' i.e. Aeschines and his party spoiled the peace by false reports, delays in taking the oaths from Philip, etc.

21. 11. ἀκριβ. καὶ διεξ. § 13.

12. τὰ μάλιστα, 'in the highest degree,' § 95.

13. οὐδὲν . . πρὸς ἐμέ, § 44.

15. ἐκδεξάμενος, 'to take upon one-

when you were waging a continuous and protracted war, and that a war on behalf of the interests of all, as has been made plain by experience, were willing to assist you neither with money nor with troops nor with anything else whatsoever. Enraged with them, both justly and properly, you readily responded to Philip. The peace then which was conceded by you at that time was brought about owing to this—not owing to me, as my opponent libellously asserted; and, if anyone should make a just examination, he will find that the iniquities and venalities of my opponents during the making of the peace are responsible for our present troubles. And all this I recount ²¹ with precision for the truth's sake. For if there should appear malpractice, though in the highest degree, in these transactions, I imagine it does not at all concern me. On the contrary, the man who first spoke and mooted the peace was Aristodemus the actor, and the man who caught up the ball and drafted the decree and hired himself out for this service in company with my opponent was Philocrates of the deme of Hagnus,—your partner, Aeschines, not mine, though you lie till you crack. And those who spoke for the motion, from motives best known to themselves—for I drop that question for the present—were Eubulus and Cephisophon: but I took no part anywhere. ²² Nevertheless, though these transactions are of this character, and have been thus stated by me in strict accordance with the truth, to such a pitch of effrontery had he come, that he dared to say that I, if you please! in addition to having been responsible for the peace, had also prevented Athens from making it in common with a federate assembly of the Hellenes. If all

self a burden or task and relieve another:’ so Fals. Leg. § 41. p. 352 ἐκδέχεται τὴν αἰτίαν, and Ib. § 108. p. 371, with reference to this same peace, Κτησιφῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδημος τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν πρώτην ἔφερον τοῦ φενακισμοῦ, ἐπειδὴ δ’ εἰς τὸ πράττειν ἤδη τὰ πράγματα ἦκε, Φιλοκράτει καὶ τούτῳ παρέδωκαν, ἐκδεξάμενοι δ’ οὗτοι πάντ’ ἀπώλεσαν. Compare Plato, Euthyd. p. 277 ὥσπερ σφαίραν ἐκδ. τὸν λόγον.

18. ψευδόμενος. Observe that the

participle carries the main predication, and cf § 7 note.

οὔτου δήποτε ἔνεκα κ.τ.λ. This and the similar phrases §§ 146, 261, convey a discreditable implication, and are generally followed by some expression like ἐῷ γάρ κ.τ.λ.

22. 21. οὕτω, predicative, ‘shown to be of this character.’

22. ἄρα expresses surprise. ‘I, of all people in the world.’

23. καὶ κεκ. ‘have also hindered.’

νων ταύτην ποιήσασθαι. εἴτ' ὦ—τί ἂν εἰπὼν σέ τις ὀρθῶς προσείποι; ἔστιν ὅπου σὺ παρὼν, τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἡλίκην νυνὶ διεξήεις, ὁρῶν ἀφαιρούμενόν με τῆς πόλεως ἡγανάκτησας ἢ παρελθὼν 23 ταῦτα ἂ νυνὶ κατηγορεῖς ἐδίδαξας καὶ διεξήλθες; καὶ 5 μὴν εἰ τὸ κωλύσαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κοινωνίαν ἐπεπράκειν ἐγὼ Φιλίππῳ, σοὶ τὸ μὴ σιγῆσαι λοιπὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ βοᾶν καὶ διαμαρτύρεσθαι καὶ δηλοῦν τουτοισί. οὐ τοίνυν ἐποίησας οὐδαμοῦ τοῦτο, οὐδ' ἤκουσέ σου ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν οὐδεὶς· οὔτε γὰρ ἦν πρεσβεία πρὸς 10 οὐδένα ἀπεσταλμένη τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ πάλαι πάντες ἦσαν ἐξεληλεγμένοι, οὔθ' οὗτος ὑγιὲς περὶ 24 τούτων εἶρηκεν οὐδέν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων καὶ διαβάλλει τὴν πόλιν τὰ μέγιστα ἐν οἷς ψεύδεται· εἰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ἅμα τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας εἰς πόλεμον παρεκαλεῖτε, αὐτοὶ 15 δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης πρέσβεις ἐπέμπετε, Εὐρυβάτου πρᾶγμα, οὐ πόλεως ἔργον οὐδὲ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων διεπράττεσθε. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν· τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι μετεπέμπεσθ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ; ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; ἀλλ' ὑπῆρχεν 20 ἅπασιν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐβουλεύεσθε. Οὐκουν οὔτε τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης ἡγεμὼν οὐδ' αἴτιος ὢν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι, οὔτε

1. εἴτ', in logical usages, means
- (1) 'in spite of all this,' as § 243.
- (2) 'if all that be so,' as here, § 101.
- (3) 'more than this,' §§ 19, 59.

ὦ—τί ἂν εἰπὼν κ.τ.λ. Cp. Aristoph. Nub. 1378 ὦ .. τί σ' εἶπω;

3. πρᾶξιν, 'advantageous negotiation,' § 191.

5. ἐδίδαξ. καὶ διεξ., § 13.

23. 7. λοιπόν = 'you had a last chance;' or, 'it still remained your duty.' Cf. § 69.

8. διαμαρτύρεσθαι = to call heaven

and earth to witness.

10. ταύτην τὴν φωνήν, 'a cry to this effect;' cf. § 103 τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον. Dind. adds εἰκότως.

ἦν .. ἀπεσταλμένη, if taken as a pluperfect, involves an historical difficulty (see Introd. I). It is just possible to translate 'no embassy was at that time under commission.'

11. οὐδένα. Dind. οὐδένας ('no state') which Shilleto prefers: see his note on Fals. Leg. § 74. p. 362 for illustrations.

this is so, you—by what name could one rightly address you?—is there a single occasion on which you, present as you were, observing me to divert from the state a stroke of policy and an alliance so all important as you just now narrated, expressed indignation or came forward and told circumstantially the tale which you now bring into your accusation? And further, had 23 I sold to Philip the service of preventing the common action of the Hellenes, it rested with you not to keep silent, but to cry aloud and make solemn protests and inform your countrymen. On no occasion, therefore, did you do this, and no one heard a sound to this effect from you. For no embassy was at that time on its way to any of the Hellenes, but all had been tested and found wanting long ago; and my opponent has not uttered a single sound word on this head. But besides this he also 24 traduces his country most seriously by his false statements; for if, at one and the same time, you were summoning the Hellenes to war, yet privily sending ambassadors to Philip to treat for peace, you were trying to perform a trick worthy of Eurybates, not the action due from a state or from honourable men. But this is not true, it is not true. For with what possible wish would you have sent for them at this conjuncture? For peace? Why, all had it, to begin with. But for war? On the contrary, you were yourselves deliberating about peace. Thus, then, I am seen to be neither the pioneer of the peace as originally proposed nor responsible for it, and of the other

12. ἐξεληλεγμένοι is more than 'tested'; it signifies 'tried and found wanting.' Cf. contra Aristog. ii. § 22. p. 807 (quoted by Dissen).

24. 17. Εὐρυβάτου, unknown: supposed by some to be the name of an Ephesian who received money from Croesus to raise troops, and deserted to Cyrus, or of a kind of Protean fire-god. Cf. Aeschin. c. Ct. § 137 οὐτε Εὐρύβατος οὐτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν πάλαι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο.

19. τί γὰρ καὶ βουλόμενοι, 'what

could you *conceivably wish* in sending for them?'

20. ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην; we should have expected the accusative, without the preposition, recurring to βουλόμενοι: the ἐπὶ recurs to μετεπέμπεσθε.

22. τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰρήνης, 'the peace as originally proposed.' Cf. Fals. Leg. § 108, quoted on § 21 above.

23. ὧν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι = 'I evidently am.' 'I seem to be' would of course require the infinitive instead of the participle.

τῶν ἄλλων ὧν κατεψεύσατό μου οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὃν δείκνυται.

- 25 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ πόλις, ἐνταῦθα πάλιν σκέψασθε τί ἡμῶν ἐκάτερος προείλετο πράττειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τούτων εἴσεσθε τίς ἦν ὁ Φιλίππῳ 5 πάντα συναγωνιζόμενος, καὶ τίς ὁ πράττων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον ζητῶν. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἔγραψα βουλευὼν ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχίστην τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἂν ὄντα Φίλιππον πυνθάνωνται, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαμβάνειν· οὗτοι δὲ οὐδὲ 10
- 26 γράψαντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἠθέλησαν. τί δὲ τοῦτ' ἡδύνατο, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ διδάξω. Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον ὡς πλείστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὅρκων, ὑμῖν δ' ὡς ἐλάχιστον. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἂφ' ἧς ὠμόσατε ἡμέρας μόνον, ἀλλ' 15 ἂφ' ἧς ἡλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, πάσας ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου, ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστα ἐπραγματεύετο, νομίζων, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀποδοῦναι, πάντα ταῦτα βεβαίως ἔξειν· οὐδένα γὰρ 20
- 27 τὴν εἰρήνην λύσειν τούτων ἔνεκα. ἃ ἐγὼ προορώμενος ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ λογιζόμενος τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο γράφω, πλεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἂν ᾗ Φίλιππος, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους τὴν ταχίστην ἀπολαμβάνειν, ἵν' ἐχόν-

25. 8. βουλευὼν, 'in my capacity as member of the βουλή,' § 28. Demosthenes seems to have been the only senator among the ambassadors.

10. ἀπολαμβάνειν, 'try to get the oaths;' see note on ἀκροάσασθαι, § 2.

οὐδὲ .. τοῦτο, 'even after I had carried this *further* resolution.' The ambassadors ought to have departed after the original ψήφισμα of Philocrates which concluded the peace.

26. 13. τὸν μεταξὺ .. ὅρκων. Compare Fals. Leg. § 181, p. 393 τὸ ὡς πλείστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον διατριφθῆναι τοῦ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαβεῖν, where see Shilleto's note.

16. ἐξελύσατε. Dind. has ἐξελύσασθε, which Dissen, with justice, prefers. 'Relaxed your own preparations.'

19. ὅσα τῆς πόλεως προλάβοι πρὸ τοῦ κ.τ.λ., 'as many places *belonging*

falsehoods which he has uttered against me it is shown that not one contains a grain of truth.

Accordingly, after the state had made the peace, I beg you **25** once more to examine what each of us chose on principle to do under the new circumstances: for from this you will know who it was that fought throughout on Philip's side, and who it was that worked for you and sought the advantage of the state. On my part, then, I proposed, in my place as senator, that the ambassadors should sail with all despatch to any places in which they might hear of Philip's presence, and try to administer the oaths to him; but, even after I had carried this motion, my opponents were not pleased to obey. And what **26** was the force of this, men of Athens? I will inform you. It was Philip's interest that the interval of time before he took the oaths should be as wide as possible; it was your interest that it should be as narrow as possible. Why? Because, on your part, not only from the day on which you were sworn, but from the day on which you hoped that there would be peace, you relaxed all your preparations for the war; he, on the contrary, had been scheming for this, above all things, from the commencement, thinking, what indeed was true, that he would retain securely all the possessions of the state which he could capture before rendering the oaths: for, reasons he, none will break the peace for the sake of these. Foreseeing, men of **27** Athens, and calculating upon this, I drafted the following decree, that we should sail to any places in which Philip might be quartered and swear him with all despatch, that the Thra-

to Athens as he could pre-occupy, before,' etc.

It is quite possible, in Fals. Leg. § 90. p. 366 πρὶν τούτων τι τῆς πόλεως προλαβεῖν, that the προ- in προλαβεῖν governs τῆς πόλεως, and that Shilleto is right in rendering that passage, 'Before he had got the start of the city and possessed himself of any of these places:' although in the sense of 'anticipating another,' the verb does not seem else-

where to be used with an *accusative of the thing gained by the anticipation*, the natural construction (as contra Cor. § 6. p. 1103 προλαβὼν δέ μου ὥστε πρότερον λέγειν), being with ὥστε. In the present instance, however, the preposition contained in the verb merely anticipates, as § 60 it reiterates, the clause introduced by πρὸ τοῦ.

21. λύσειν, supply ἐνόμιζεν.

των τῶν Θρακῶν, τῶν ὑμετέρων συμμάχων, ταῦτα τὰ
 χωρία ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τὸ Σέρριον καὶ τὸ Μυρτηνὸν
 καὶ τὴν Ἑργίσκην, οὕτω γίγνουνθ' οἱ ὅρκοι, καὶ μὴ
 προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων κύριος
 τῆς Θράκης κατασταίη, μηδὲ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων 5
 πολλῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσας ἐκ τούτων ῥαδίως τοῖς
 28 λοιποῖς ἐπιχειροίη πράγμασιν. εἴτα τοῦτο μὲν οὐχὶ
 λέγει τὸ ψήφισμα, οὐδ' ἀναγιγνώσκει· εἰ δὲ βουλευὼν
 ἐγὼ προσάγειν τοὺς πρέσβεις ᾧ μὴν δεῖν, τοῦτό μου
 διαβάλλει. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; μὴ προσά- 10
 γειν γράψαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦθ' ἦκοντας, ἵν' ὑμῖν διαλε-
 χθῶσιν; ἢ θέαν μὴ κατανεῖμαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτοῖς
 κελεύσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἐθεώρουν ἄν, εἰ
 μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη. τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως ἔδει με
 φυλάττειν, τὰ δ' ὅλα, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, πεπρακέναι; οὐ 15
 δῆπου. Λέγε τοίνυν μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτὶ λαβόν, ὃ
 σαφῶς οὗτος εἰδὼς παρέβη. λέγε.

29 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Μνησιφίλου, ἑκατομ-
 βαιῶνος ἔνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Πανδιονίδος,

27. 2. διέσυρε, Aeschines even dis-
 torts the names, § 82 οὗτός ἐστιν ὃ
 Ἀθηναῖοι ὁ πρῶτος ἐξευρῶν Σέρριον
 τεῖχος καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ Ἑργίσκην καὶ
 Μυρτίσκην κ.τ.λ.

3. οὕτω γίγνουνθ'. Cf. § 7 note.

5. χρημάτων perhaps refers to the
 gold-mines at Crenides (Philippi),
 which supplied Philip with his most
 powerful 'siege-artillery.'

6. ἐκ τούτων, 'from these districts,'
 or, 'after this.'

28. 7. Aesch. § 76.

εἴτα, 'in spite of this,' cf. § 22.

8. εἰ = 'if it happened that,' a less
 definite ὅτι, cf. §§ 44, 193.

βουλευόμεν, § 25.

13. ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν. The price
 is put for the seat for which it was

paid. The 'two-obol places' were
 the ordinary unreserved seats.

εἰ μὴ τοῦτ' ἐγράφη, 'if this (the
 motion that they should be invited to
 the προεδρία, or seats of honour) had
 not been proposed.'

14. Before συμφέροντα Dind. has
 μικρά, which is indispensable to the
 sense.

15. τὰ ὅλα, §§ 39, 278, 303.

17. λέγε is addressed to the clerk of
 the archons. Strictly λέγειν means
 rather to quote than to recite, for
 which the regular word is ἀναγιγνώ-
 σκειν.

— 29. 18. The documents to which
 Demosthenes refers are lost. Their
 place has been filled, by whom we do
 not know, with imitations which in

the attempt to make this by a self-willed
 Greek.

cians, your allies, might still hold those positions which my opponent recently disparaged, Serrium and Myrtenum and Ergisca, when the oaths were taken, and that he might not, by having secured the places which were of moment, be established as master of Thrace, and having provided himself with much money and many troops from these districts, easily essay the sequel of his policy. In spite of this, while my adversary **28** does not quote or recite this decree, yet, if it happened that I was the senator who thought we should introduce Philip's ambassadors to the popular assembly, he misrepresents this act of mine. But what ought I to have done? Ought I not to have proposed to introduce the men who had come for the special purpose of conferring with you? or not to have instructed the lessee of the theatre to assign them seats? 'Well,' say you, 'they would have sat as spectators in the two-obol seats, if that motion had not been passed.' What, was I to have guarded the petty interests of the state, but to have sold her main interests, as my opponents have done? I imagine not. Therefore take and read me this decree, which my opponent deliberately passed over. Now read.

DECREE.

*In the archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the last day of Heca- **29**
tombaeon, under the prytanyship of the tribe Pandionis, Demo-*

many particulars are unsuccessful. These spurious documents, which cease to be supplied after § 187 (exc. the epigram § 289), are frequently irrelevant; the names of the archons are wrongly stated, except in one instance; dates and facts are inaccurately given; and expressions occur which only belong to very late Greek.

In this first example *ἐλίσθαι* is not to the point, as the ambassadors were already chosen: they were ten in number, not five; and all the names found here, except that of Aeschines, are erroneous. The true archon was Themistocles, the true date 3rd Munychion. The peace was voted in the second assembly, not the first; and as the oaths were at once taken on the

Athenian part, in presence of Antipater, there was no occasion to repeat them to Philip, but only to administer the oath to him. The *ψήφισμα* to which Demosthenes refers was passed by the senate alone (in exercise of extraordinary powers then conferred upon it) and not by the people. Lastly *ὑπερβολή*, in the sense of 'delay,' is not Attic; and *δμολογουμένης* is at least doubtful.

19. *ἐνῇ καὶ νέᾳ*. Plutarch, Solon 25: 'Observing the irregularity of the months, and that the moon neither rose nor set at the same time with the sun, as it often happened that in the same day she overtook and passed by him, he ordered that day to be called *ἐνῇ καὶ νέᾳ* (the old and the new);

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὁμολογούμενας πεποιῆται συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη ἐπιτελεσθῇ ἢ ἐπιχειροτονηθεῖσα ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι 5 ἐκ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἥδη πέντε, τοὺς δὲ χειροτονηθέντας ἀποδημεῖν μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ποιουμένους, ὅπου ἂν ὄντα πυθάνωνται τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λαβεῖν τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δοῦναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμολογούμεναις συνθήκαις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον, συμπε- 10 ριλαμβάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκατέρων συμμάχους. πρέσβεις ἡρέθησαν Εὐβουλος Ἀναφλύστιος, Αἰσχίνης Κοθωκίδης, Κηφισοφῶν Ῥαμνούσιος, Δημοκράτης Φλυεύς, Κλέων Κοθωκίδης.]

30 Ταῦτα γράψαντος ἐμοῦ τότε, καὶ τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέ- 15 ρον, οὐ τὸ Φιλίππῳ ζητοῦντος, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες οἱ χρηστοὶ πρέσβεις οὗτοι καθήντο ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τρεῖς ὅλους μῆνας, ἕως ἦλθε Φίλιππος ἐκ Θράκης πάντα καταστρεψάμενος, ἕξδον ἡμερῶν δέκα, μᾶλλον δὲ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων, εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀφίχθαι καὶ τὰ 20 χωρία σῶσαι, λαβόντας τοὺς ὅρκους πρὶν ἐκείνιν ἐξελεῖν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἤψατ' αὐτῶν παρόντων ἡμῶν, ἢ οὐκ ἂν ὠρκίζομεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τῆς εἰρήνης ἂν διημαρτήκει καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀμφοτέρω εἶχε, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰ χωρία.

25

31 Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ πρῶτον κλέμμα μὲν Φιλίππου δωροδόκημα δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων τούτων ἀνθρώπων τοιοῦτον ἐγένετο· ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν καὶ αἰὲ ὁμολογῶ καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεσθαι τούτοις· ἕτερον

assigning the part of it before the conjunction to the old month, and the rest to the beginning of the new.' (Langhorne.) This would only occur every other month, on the 30th; but

afterwards, when the solar year came into use, the term was applied to the last day of every month without discrimination.

30. 17. *treis olous mēnas* is of

*sthene*s, the son of *Demosthenes*, of the deme *Paeania*, moved that, Whereas *Philip*, having sent ambassadors to treat for peace, hath formed an accepted covenant, it hath been resolved by the council and commons of the Athenians, in order that the peace may be completed which was voted at the first assembly, to choose ambassadors from the whole body of Athenians, to the just number of five, and that those who are elected shall leave the country without making any delay, to wherever they may hear *Philip* is quartered, and that they take the oaths from him and tender them to him with all despatch, according to the covenant with the Athenian people agreed upon by him, comprehending also the allies of either side. As ambassadors were chosen *Eubulus* of the deme *Anaphlystus*, *Aeschines* of the deme *Cothocis*, *Cephisophon* of the deme *Rhamnus*, *Democrates* of the deme *Phlyes*, *Cleon* of the deme *Cothocis*.

After. I had then proposed and carried this decree, seeking 30 what was expedient for my country, not what was expedient for *Philip*, these worthy ambassadors paid little heed, and sat idly in Macedonia for three entire months, until *Philip* had come from Thrace, having brought the whole beneath his power, although it was possible for them within ten days, or rather within three or four, to have reached the Hellespont and to have delivered the places, by getting the oaths from him before he completed their destruction. For he would not have laid a finger on them in our presence, or, if he had, we would not have sworn him; so that he would have forfeited the peace and would not have retained both advantages, the peace as well as the places.

So the first act during the embassy of theft on the part of *Philip*, 31 and of venality on the part of my iniquitous opponents, took this character; on which score I confess that then, now, and for ever I am at open war and feud with them. But I ask you to regard

course an exaggeration: v. Introduction I.

19. After καταστρεψάμενος Dind. has τὰ κεῖ.

24. εἶχε. Demosthenes often uses

imperfect for aorist indicative in conditional sentences: cf. § 28 ἐθεώρουν ἂν, § 65 εἰ .. ἦγεν, §§ 76, 133.

31. 27. After ἀνθρώπων Dind. has καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν, and omits καὶ before

- δ' εὐθὺς ἐφεξῆς ἔτι τούτου μείζον κακούργημα θεάσασθε.
 32 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὥμοσε τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Φίλιππος προλαβὼν
 τὴν Θράκην διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας τῷ ἐμῷ ψη-
 φίσματι, πάλιν ὠνεῖται παρ' αὐτῶν ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωμεν
 ἐκ Μακεδονίας, ἕως τὰ τῆς στρατείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς 5
 Φωκέας εὐτρεπῇ ποιήσαιο, ἵνα μή, δεῦρ' ἀπαγγειλάν-
 των ἡμῶν ὅτι μέλλει καὶ παρασκευάζεται πορεύεσθαι,
 ἐξέλθοιτε ὑμεῖς καὶ περιπλεύσαντες ταῖς τριήρεσιν εἰς
 Πύλας ὥσπερ πρότερον κλείσατε τὸν τόπον, ἀλλ' ἄμ'
 ἀκούοιτε ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡμῶν κάκείνος ἐντὸς 10
 33 εἴη Πυλῶν καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοιθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι. οὕτω δ' ἦν
 ὁ Φίλιππος ἐν φόβῳ καὶ πολλῇ ἀγωνίᾳ μὴ καὶ ταῦτα
 προειληφότος αὐτοῦ, εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι
 ψηφίσαισθε βοηθεῖν, ἐκφύγοι τὰ πράγματ' αὐτόν, ὥστε
 μισθοῦνται τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτονί, οὐκέτι κοινῇ μετὰ 15
 τῶν ἄλλων πρέσβειων ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καθ' αὐτόν, τοιαῦτα πρὸς
 ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' ὧν ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο.
 34 ἀξιώ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ δέομαι τοῦτο μεμνή-
 σθαι παρ' ὅλον τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὅτι μὴ κατηγορήσαντος
 Αἰσχίνου μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς γραφῆς οὐδ' ἂν ἐγὼ λόγον 20
 οὐδένα ἐποιούμην ἕτερον, πάσαις δ' αἰτίαις καὶ βλασ-
 φημίαις ἅμα τούτου κεχρημένου ἀνάγκη κάμοι πρὸς


πολεμεῖν. The latter is certainly an advantage, as the difficulties which have arisen with regard to the distinction between πολεμεῖν and διαφέρεισθαι (where Kennedy supposes an anticlimax) disappear. With the reading of Dind. πολεμεῖν καὶ διαφέρεισθαι contain but one verbal idea, the first verb colouring the second adverbially: 'I am at open war in my variance with them,' 'I am at daggers drawn with them.' See on ἐτραγῶδει καὶ διεξήει § 13.

32. 3. διὰ τούτους οὐχὶ πεισθέντας, § 57.

4. ἀπίωμεν. ἀπιμεν would be more regular; but it is harsh to deny that the subjunctive is good Greek after the historic present ὠνεῖται. Retaining this, the clauses ὅπως μὴ ἀπίωμεν . . ἵνα μὴ . . ἐξέλθοιτε give an instance of the idiomatic construction which expresses a direct consequence by the subjunctive and a further or indirect consequence by the optative. Compare Thuc. iii. 22 ὅπως ἀσαφῆ τὰ σημεία . . ἥ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῖεν, where see Arnold's note and Thuc. vii. 17. 4, viii. 87. 3; Herod. viii. 76. 2, ix. 51. 3.

despicable

another villany immediately subsequent and yet greater than the former. After Philip had sworn to the peace, having previously occupied Thrace—thanks to my opponents having refused to obey my decree—he made a second purchase from them, that we should not depart from Macedonia until he had brought to perfection the preparations for his expedition against the Phocians, wishing that you might not, on our bringing home the news that he was purposing and preparing to march, send out your own forces, and by sailing round in your triremes to Thermopylae, as once you did before, close the pass, but that at the time when you should be listening to these reports from us he might be on this side of Thermopylae, and you might be able to do nothing. To such an extent was Philip in fear, or rather in great excruciation of mind, lest, even after his previous capture of these places, should you decree, before the Phocians were destroyed, to send them help, the situation should escape him, that he hired my despicable opponent, no longer in concert with the other ambassadors, but privately and personally, to make such speeches and such reports to you as ruined everything. Now I require, men of Athens, and I entreat that you remember during the whole course of the trial, that, if Aeschines had brought no accusation extraneous to the indictment, no more would I have made a single remark foreign to the question; but, since my opponent has employed charges and calumnies too of every kind, it is necessary for me also to



9. For τόπον Dind. has πορθμόν.

11. ἔχουσθ', 'be able,' § 4, etc. The translation 'have nothing to do' would require ἐχουσθ' ὅτι ποιοῦτε.

33. 13. εἰ is omitted by Dissen (with many MSS.), ἀκούσαντες inserted before ψηφίσαισθε and καί before ἐκφύγοι: 'lest, even though he had preoccupied these places, you should, on receipt of the information, decree to send help before the Phocians were destroyed, and so the situation should slip from his grasp,' etc. This reading has the advantage of not violating the canon

of absolute clauses, namely, that the subject of an absolute clause may not be identical with either the subject or the object of the main sentence. The text before us does violate this canon, αὐτοῦ being identical with αὐτόν. (It is to be remarked that Σ', on the authority of which MS. εἰ depends, has with it the impossible ψηφίσσασθε.) Another violation occurs § 135, where see note.

17. δι' ὧν. See δι' οὓς § 35, where there is little difference of meaning.

- 35 ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορουμένων μικρὰ ἀποκρίνασθαι. τίνες οὖν ἦσαν οἱ παρὰ τούτου λόγοι τότε ρηθέντες, καὶ δι' οὓς ἅπαντ' ἀπώλετο; ὥς οὐ δεῖ θορυβεῖσθαι τῷ παρεληλυθέναι Φίλιππον εἴσω Πυλῶν· ἔσται γὰρ ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεσθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν ἔχηθ' ἡσυχίαν, καὶ ἀκούσεσθε 5 δυοῖν ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν, οἷς μὲν ἐχθρὸς ἦκει, φίλον αὐτὸν γεγενημένον, οἷς δὲ φίλος, τούναντίον ἐχθρόν. οὐ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα τὰς οἰκειότητος ἔφη βεβαιοῦν, μάλα σεμνῶς ὀνομάζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα συμφέρειν· συμφέρειν δὲ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Φωκεῦσι καὶ ὑμῖν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τῆς 10 ἀναλγησίας καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς τῶν
- 36 Θηβαίων. ταῦτα δ' ἀσμένως τινὲς ἤκουον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τόθ' ὑποῦσαν ἀπέχθειαν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. τί οὖν συνέβη μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθύς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν; τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας ἀπολέσθαι καὶ κατασκαφῆναι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, 15 ὑμᾶς δ' ἡσυχίαν ἀγαγόντας καὶ τούτῳ πεισθέντας μικρὸν ὕστερον σκευαγωγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, τοῦτον δὲ χρυσίον λαβεῖν, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τὴν μὲν ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι,
- 37 τὴν δὲ χάριν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων Φιλίππῳ. ὅτι 20 δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, λέγε μοι τό τε τοῦ Καλλισθένους ψήφισμα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ταῦθ' ἅπανθ' ὑμῖν ἔσται φανερά. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ Μνησιφίλου ἄρχοντος, συγ-

35. 2. καὶ δι' οὓς. The καὶ is meaningless and should be excised, cf. § 143.

6. οἷς μὲν, the Phocians, οἷς δέ, the Thebans.

36. 13. ὑποῦσαν κ.τ.λ. 'The *undercurrent* of hatred,' § 315, or, here perhaps, 'the hatred still *rankling*' against the Thebans.

14. εὐθύς. Aeschines spoke on the 13th Scirophorion, and by the 23rd

'all was over' with the Phocians: see Fals. Leg. §§ 64-66. p. 359. For the pleonasm cf. § 137 μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον.

18. ἀπέχθειαν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς here means 'the hatred felt on the part of the Thebans and Thesalians against Athens,' although the apparently similar phrase above meant the hatred felt by the Athenians against the Thebans. For the *subjunctive* use of πρὸς compare Philip. ii.

make short answers to each set of accusations. What, therefore, were the words which were uttered at that time by my opponent, thanks to which all was lost? They were these: 'You must not be alarmed at the fact that Philip has passed to the south of Thermopylae: for you shall have all you wish, if you preserve your quietude; and you shall hear, within two or three days, that to those whose enemy he came, he has become a friend, while to those whose friend he came, he has on the other hand become hostile. For,' said he, phrasing it very grandiloquently, 'it is not words that cement connections but identity of interests; and it is to the interest of Philip and the Phocians, and all of you alike, to be rid of the heartlessness and oppressiveness of the Thebans.' There were some who listened gladly to these words from him on account of the undercurrent of hatred which at that time set against the Thebans. What, then, occurred immediately, not remotely, after this? It occurred that, on the one hand, the Phocians were destroyed and their cities razed to the ground; while you, on the other hand, after having preserved your inactivity and listened to my opponent, shortly afterwards had to hurry in your property from the country; that my opponent received gold; and that, still further, in addition to this, the city earned the hatred of the Thebans and the Thessalians, while Philip earned their gratitude for what had been done. To prove that this is so, read to me both the decree of Callisthenes and the letter of Philip, from both of which all this will be plain to you. Please read.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Mnesiphilus, an extraordinary assembly

§ 3. p. 66 τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν ὀκνοῦντες, and Fals. Leg. § 96. p. 368 ὑμῖν μὲν τὴν ἐχθρὰν τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους μείζω, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν χάριν πεποίηκεν.

37. 20. ὅτι. 'In proof that,' and so often: see Index.

24. ψήφισμα. The name of the archon (see § 29) and the date (v. infra) given are wrong: παρεύρεσις in the sense of 'pretext' is not classical, κοιταῖον γίγνεσθαι is only found else-

where in Polybius, and the combination into one court of ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν στρατηγός (supposed to mean the commander of the heavy-armed infantry), ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως (supposed to be the military minister of finance), and the 'clerk of the council' is remarkable, unless a council-clerk be author of the forgery.

συγκλήτου ἐκκλησίας, sc. γενομένης.

κλήτου ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν καὶ πρυτάνεων καὶ
 βουλῆς γνώμη, μαιμακτηριῶνος δεκάτῃ ἀπιόντος, Καλλι-
 σθένης Ἐτεονίκου Φαληρεὺς εἶπε, μηδένα Ἀθηναίων μηδεμίᾳ
 παρευρέσει ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ κοιταῖον γίνεσθαι ἀλλ' ἐν ἄστει
 καὶ Πειραιεῖ, ὅσοι μὴ ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις εἰσὶν ἀποτεταγ- 5
 μένοι· τούτων δ' ἐκάστους, ἣν παρέλαβον τάξιν, διατηρεῖν
 38 μῆτε ἀφημερεύοντας μῆτε ἀποκοιτοῦντας. ὃς ἂν δὲ ἀπειθήσῃ
 τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἔνοχος ἔστω τοῖς τῆς προδοσίας ἐπι-
 τιμίοις, εἰ μὴ τι ἀδύνατον ἐπιδεικνύῃ περὶ ἑαυτόν· περὶ
 δὲ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου ἐπικρινέτω ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων στρατηγὸς 10
 καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς.
 κατακομίζειν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν πάντα τὴν ταχίστην,
 τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι εἰς ἄστν καὶ Πειραιᾶ,
 τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι Ἐλευσίνα καὶ Φυλὴν
 καὶ Ἀφιδναν καὶ Ῥαμνοῦντα καὶ Σούνιον.] 15

Ἄρ' ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιεῖσθε,
 ἢ ταῦτ' ἐπηγγέλλεθ' ὑμῖν οὗτος ὁ μισθωτός;
 39 Λέγε δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔπεμψε Φίλιππος μετὰ
 ταῦτα.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων 20
 Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἵστε
 ἡμᾶς παρελθλυθότας εἶσω Πυλῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα
 ὑφ' ἑαυτοὺς πεπονημένους, καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐκουσίως προσε-
 τίθετο τῶν πολισμάτων, φρουρὰς εἰσαγοχότας εἰς αὐτά,
 τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπακούοντα κατὰ κράτος λαβόντες καὶ ἑξανδρα- 25
 ποδισάμενοι κατεσκάψαμεν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς παρα-
 σκευάζεσθαι βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς γέγραφα ὑμῖν, ἵνα μὴ πλείον

1. καὶ before βουλῆς is bracketed by Dind. as interpolated, and is certainly objectionable, as πρυτάνεων is on historical grounds better taken with ὑπό.

2. δεκάτῃ ἀπιόντος. The Attic month at this time was divided into three decades: in the first decade the days were counted as νουμηνία, δευτέρα, etc., μηνὸς ἱσταμένου; in the second

as πρώτη, etc., μεσοῦντος (or πρώτη ἐπὶ δέκα); in the third, counting backwards from the last day of the month inclusively, δεκάτῃ, ἐνάτῃ, etc., ἀπιόντος (φθίνοντος, λήγοντος), or sometimes πρώτη, δευτέρα, etc., ἐπὶ εἰκάδι. In the present case δεκάτῃ ἀπιόντος would mean the 21st of a month containing thirty days; but Μαιμακτηριῶν

having been convened by the generals, according to a resolution of the prytanies and the council, on the twenty-first of Maemacterion, Callisthenes, the son of Eleonicus, of the deme of Phalerus, moved : That no Athenian on any excuse pass the night in the country, but in the city or the Piraeus, except those who are detached in the garrisons : and that each body of the latter strictly observe the post which they received, absenting themselves neither by day nor by night. And whosoever shall disobey this decree, let him be liable to the penalties of treason, unless he can point in excuse of himself to some circumstance beyond his control : and with regard to such 38 circumstances let the decision rest with the commander of the heavy infantry and the minister of finance and the clerk of the council. Also, that the citizens bring in all their property from the country with despatch, property within a hundred and twenty stades to come into the city or the Piraeus, property more remote than a hundred and twenty stades to Eleusis or Phyle or Aphidna or Rhamnus or Sunium.

Was it with the hope of this that you made the peace, or were these the promises held out to you by this hireling ?

Now read the letter which Philip sent after this.

39

LETTER OF PHILIP.

Philip, king of the Macedonians, to the council and commons of the Athenians, greeting. Know that we have passed south of Thermopylae and have subjected to ourselves the places in the district of Phocis, and into all the cities which voluntarily adhered to us have introduced garrisons ; but those which did not respond, having taken them by storm and sold the inhabitants as slaves, we have demolished. But hearing that you also are making preparations to send them aid, I have written to you in order that you may not trouble yourselves unnecessarily about them : for I think

(at any rate in Ol. 108. 3) had only twenty-nine days.

38. 9. ἀδύνατον, § 108.

15. At the end of the ψήφισμα Dind. has εἶπε Καλλισθένης Φαληρεὺς.

39. 18. Before ἐπεμψε Dind. has δευρ'.

20. The tone of this letter is impetuous, while Philip is reported to have

always adopted conciliatory tones. No Phocian towns were taken by storm (κατὰ κράτος), but all destroyed after surrendering upon terms: cf. Fals. Leg. § 68, p. 360 μηδεμίαν τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Φωκεύσιν ἀλῶναι πολιορκία μηδ' ἐκ προσβολῆς κατὰ κράτος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ σπείσασθαι πάντας ἄρδην ἀπολέσθαι.

23. προσετίθετο, § 195.

ἐνοχλήσθε περὶ τούτων· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ὅλοις οὐδὲ μέτριόν μοι δοκεῖτε ποιεῖν, τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντιπαρεξάγοντες, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ συμπεριειλημμένων τῶν Φωκέων ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἡμῶν συνθήκαις. ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ ἐμμένητε τοῖς ὁμολογημένοις, οὐδὲν προτερήσετε ἑξω τοῦ 5 ἐφθακέναι ἀδικούντες.]

- 40 Ἀκούετε ὡς σαφῶς δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται ἐν τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστολῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους ὅτι “ἐγὼ ταῦτα πεποίηκα ἀκόντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ λυπουμένων, ὥστ’ εἴ περ εὖ φρονεῖτε, ὦ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θετταλοί, 10 τούτους μὲν ἐχθροὺς ὑπολήψεσθε, ἐμοὶ δὲ πιστεύετε,” οὐ τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι γράψας, ταῦτα δὲ βουλόμενος δεικνύναι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων ὥχето ἐκείνους λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μὴδ’ ὅτιοῦν προορᾶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα μὴδ’ αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐᾶσαι πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐκείνους ὑφ’ 15 ἑαυτῷ ποιήσασθαι· ἐξ ὧν ταῖς παρούσαις συμφοραῖς οἱ 41 ταλαίπωροι κέχρηνται. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πίστεως αὐτῷ συνεργὸς καὶ συναγωνιστὴς καὶ ὁ δεῦρ’ ἀπαγγεῖλας τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ φενακίσας ὑμᾶς οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ Θηβαίων ὀδυρόμενος νῦν πάθη καὶ διεξιὼν ὡς οἰκτρά, καὶ τούτων 20 καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι κακῶν καὶ ὅσ’ ἄλλα πεπόνθασιν οἱ “Ἕλληνες ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ὧν αἴτιος. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλεεῖς, κτῆμ’ ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ γεωργῶν τὰ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ δὲ χαίρω, ὃς εὐθύς ἐξητούμην ὑπὸ τοῦ 25 ταῦτα πράξαντος.

- 42 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπέπτωκα εἰς λόγους, οὓς αὐτίκα μᾶλλον

1. τοῖς ὅλοις, ‘in your general policy,’ §§ 28, 303; or perhaps ‘absolutely.’

40. 7. δηλοῖ καὶ διορίζεται, § 13. διορίζεσθαι = *affirmare* (Disson), the idea being not that of ‘defining,’ but that of ‘distinct declaration.’

8. πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ συμμάχους =

having his own allies in view.

12. τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι = not writing this in so many words, § 103.

13. λαβὼν, § 20, Fals. Leg. § 21. p. 347, ‘he had so completely mastered them before he left that (eis).’

41. 19. ὁ .. ὀδυρόμενος, ‘whom we

κατὰ πρῶτον
ἐξουσιοδοτῶν
ἐξουσιοδοτῶν

21. 19. ὁ .. ὀδυρόμενος
ἐξουσιοδοτῶν
ἐξουσιοδοτῶν

that in the general tenor of your policy you are doing what is anything but fair in having concerted peace with me and none the less begun to march your troops to take the field against me, and that too when the Phocians were not comprehended in our common covenant. Hence, if you do not abide by the terms agreed on, you will be beforehand in nothing except in setting an example of aggression.

You hear with what distinctness Philip plainly proclaims, in 40 the letter addressed to you, for the understanding of his own allies, 'I have done this against the will and to the hurt of the Athenians; so that if you are well-advised, men of Thebes and Thessaly, you will regard them as enemies and put your trust in me.' Not that he wrote in these terms, but he wished to indicate as much. As a natural consequence of this, he had left them so entirely duped that they foresaw or scented nothing whatsoever of what was to follow, but suffered him to bring the whole situation into his own grasp. Hence the unhappy peoples have experienced their present calamities. And the man 41 who worked and fought with Philip to create this credulity, and who brought home the false reports and tricked you, is my opponent, whom we hear talking pathetically about the present sufferings of the Thebans and telling us in detail how pitiful they are, although both of these mischiefs and of the suffering among the Phocians and of everything else which the Hellenes have had to endure, he is himself the guilty cause. A likely thing, Aeschines, that you smart at the revolution of events and compassionate the Thebans, seeing that you are a proprietor in Boeotia and farm the lands which were theirs, and that I on the other side exult—I, whose instant surrender was demanded by the author of these miseries.

But I find I have launched upon discussions which it will 42 heard speak so pathetically.' Compare Aeschines contra Ct. § 157 νομίσαθ' ὅρᾱν ἀλίσκομένην τὴν πόλιν, τειχῶν κατασκαφάς, ἐμπρήσεις οἰκιῶν, ἀγομένας γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας εἰς δουλείαν, πρεσβύτας ἀνθρώπους, πρεσβυτίδας γυναῖκας, ὅψε μεταμανθάνοντας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

24. γεωργῶν. Demosthenes speaks of Aeschines' γεωργίαι ('farms') as bringing in thirty minae, Fals. Leg. § 158. p. 386.

25. ἐξητούμην, § 322.

τοῦ ταῦτα πράξαντος, Alexander.

By a rare happy idiom used for 2. with interest -
 Sum. Phoen = 1307

D 2

Καὶ οὕτως γὰρ

ἴσως ἀρμόσει λέγειν. ἐπ'ἀνείμι δὴ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις, ὥς τὰ τούτων ἀδικήματα τῶν νυνὶ παρόντων πραγμάτων γέγονεν αἷτια.

Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πρεσβείαις μισθωσάντων ἑαυτοὺς 5 τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς ὑμῖν ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἐξηπάτηντο δὲ οἱ ταλαίπωροι Φωκεῖς καὶ ἀνηρηντο αἱ
43 πόλεις αὐτῶν, τί ἐγένετο; οἱ μὲν κατάπτυστοι Θετταλοὶ καὶ ἀναίσθητοι Θηβαῖοι φίλον εὐεργέτην σωτήρα τὸν Φίλιππον ἡγούντο· πάντ' ἐκείνος ἦν αὐτοῖς· οὐδὲ φωνὴν 10 ἤκουον, εἴ τις ἄλλο τι βούλοιο λέγειν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ὑφορώμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ δυσχεραίνοντες ἤγετέ τὴν εἰρήνην ὁμῶς· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὃ τι ἂν ἐποιεῖτε. καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ Ἕλληνες, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν πεφενაკισμένοι καὶ διημαρτηκότες ὧν ἥλπισαν, ἤγον τὴν εἰρήνην, αὐτοὶ τρόπον τινὰ 15
44 ἐκ πολλοῦ πολεμούμενοι. ὅτε γὰρ περιῶν Φίλιππος Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιεῖθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες ἐκεῖσε διεφθείροντο, ὧν εἷς 20 οὗτος ἦν, τότε πάντες, ἐφ' οὓς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετ' ἐκείνος, ἐπολεμοῦντο. εἰ δὲ μὴ ᾗσθάνοντο, ἕτερος ὁ
45 λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ προὔλεγον καὶ διημαρτυρόμην καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἀεὶ καὶ ὅποι πεμφθείην· αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐνόσουν τῶν μὲν ἐν τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ πρᾶτ- 25
τειν δωροδοκούντων καὶ διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι,

42. 4. ἐξηπάτησθε μὲν . . ἐξηπάτηντο δέ. Repeated words are regularly attended by μὲν . . δέ without any sense of opposition between the clauses in which they stand, § 81. Cf. ἤρχον μὲν . . ἤρχον δέ Aeschines contr. Ct. § 25, quoted below on § 55.

6. τῷ Φιλίππῳ is omitted by Dind.

43. 8. κατάπτυστοι, § 63.

10. πάντ'. Compare Thuc. viii.

95. 1. Εὐβοία γὰρ αὐτοῖς . . πάντα ἦν.

13. After εἰρήνην Dind. has ἄσμενοι, and καὶ before αὐτοί.

15. τρόπον τινὰ, § 101.

perhaps be more fitting to take presently: so I will go back again to my demonstrations, to prove that the iniquities of my opponents have been the cause of our present troubles.

When you had been deceived by Philip, through the instrumentality of these men who on the embassies had sold themselves to Philip and had made utterly false reports to you, and when the afflicted Phocians had been deceived too, and their cities had been destroyed, what happened? The despicable **43** Thessalians and dull-minded Thebans thought Philip their friend, benefactor, deliverer: he was all the world to them, and they would not listen to a sound if one wished to dissent. On your part, while you looked with suspicion on what had been done and were ill-pleased, you nevertheless kept the peace: for there was nothing you could do. And the other Hellenes too, tricked in the same way as you had been and baulked of their hopes, still kept the peace, although they themselves had virtually been for a long time past the object of war. For when **44** Philip went about and reduced the Illyrians and Triballians and some also of the Hellenes, and brought under his own control many great sources of strength, and when certain of the statesmen in the Greek cities, taking advantage of the licence afforded by the peace, travelled to Philip's quarters and were there corrupted, of whom my opponent was one, then all against whom Philip was making these preparations were attacked in open warfare. That they failed in discernment is quite another question **45** and does not touch me. For I gave warnings and solemnly protested at all times both in your midst and wherever I was sent: but the Greek states were rotten, the men who were engaged in public life and action taking bribes and sacrificing

16. ἐκ πολλοῦ, 'for a long time past;' or perhaps 'from a distance,' 'remotely,' cf. § 63.

44. 20. ἐκεῖσε, 'to a certain quarter,' i. e. the Macedonian court, § 323.

22. εἰ, § 28.

ἕτερος ὁ λόγος, Phil. iii. § 16. p. 114 εἰ μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ ταῦτά ἐστιν ἢ

μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος. Cf. p. 168, Plato, Apol. xxi. p. 34

23. πρὸς ἐμέ, §§ 60, 247.

24. ὅποι, § 244.

45. 26. διαφθειρομένων ἐπὶ χρήμασι. The preposition is not required, and is barely Greek (ἐπί?).

τῶν δὲ ^{ιδιωτῶν} καὶ πολλῶν τὰ μὲν οὐ προορωμένων,
 τὰ δὲ τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ραστώνῃ καὶ σχολῇ δελεαζομένων,
 καὶ τοιουτοῖ τι πάθος πεπονθότων ἀπάντων, πλὴν οὐκ
 ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐκάστων οἰομένων τὸ δεινὸν ἤξειν, καὶ διὰ
 τῶν ἐτέρων κινδύνων τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς σχήσειν, ὅταν 5
 46 βούλωνται. εἴτ' οἶμαι συμβέβηκε τοῖς μὲν πλήθεσιν
 ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀκαίρου ραθυμίας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
 ἀπολωλεκέναι, τοῖς δὲ προεστηκόσι καὶ τὰλλα πλὴν
 ἑαυτοὺς οἰομένοις πωλεῖν πρῶτους ἑαυτοὺς πεπρακόσιν
 αἰσθέσθαι· ἀντὶ γὰρ φίλων καὶ ξένων, ἃ τότε ὠνομά- 10
 ζοντο ἡνίκα ἐδωροδόκουν, νῦν κόλακες καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ
 47 καὶ τὰλλ' ἃ προσήκει πάντ' ἀκούουσιν. οὐδεὶς γάρ,
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ τοῦ προδιδόντος συμφέρον ζητῶν
 χρήματ' ἀναλίσκει, οὐδ' ἐπειδὰν ὦν ἂν πρίηται κύριος
 γένηται, τῷ προδότῃ συμβούλῳ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτι 15
 χρήται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν ἦν εὐδαιμονέστερον προδότου.
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλ'
 ἐπειδὰν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγκρατὴς ὁ ζητῶν ἄρχειν κατα-
 στη, καὶ τῶν ταῦτα ἀποδομένων δεσπότης ἐστί, τὴν δὲ
 πονηρίαν εἰδώς, τότε δὴ, τότε καὶ μισεῖ καὶ ἀπιστεῖ καὶ 20
 48 προπηλακίζει. σκοπεῖτε δέ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ παρελήλυθεν
 ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων καιρὸς, ὁ τοῦ γε εἰδέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα
 καιρὸς αἰὲ πάρεστι τοῖς εὖ φρονούσιν. μέχρι τούτου
 Λασθένης φίλος ὠνομάζετο, ἕως προῦδωκεν Ὀλυνθον·
 μέχρι τούτου Τιμόλαος, ἕως ἀπώλεσε Θήβας· μέχρι 25
 τούτου Εὐδικὸς καὶ Σῖμος ὁ Λαρισαῖος, ἕως Θετταλίαν

1. ιδιωτῶν καὶ πολλῶν must be taken together, 'the unofficial multitude.'

τὰ μὲν .. τὰ δέ, 'partly .. partly.'

3. τοιουτοῖ τι πάθος κ.τ.λ. may possibly refer back to δελεαζομένων, 'all alike possessed by a passion of this kind for easy-going leisure:' but more probably is connected with what

follows, 'all possessed by a constraining idea of this kind, that is, each community imagining that the blow would fall on all but themselves.' For πάσχειν, in the sense of 'lying under delusion,' cf. Aristoph. Frogs 717 πολ-
 λάκις γ' ἡμῖν ἔδοξεν ἢ πόλις πεπονθέαι |
 ταῦτόν ἐς τε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς καλοῦς

αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἧς φησὶν εὐ μάλιστα
 γέροντι

γέροντι 590

their principles for money, while the majority of private citizens either had no foresight or were caught by the bait of daily ease and leisure, and all alike suffered from some such delusion as this, each community fancying that the danger would come against all except themselves, and that at others' risks they might safely secure their own interests when they pleased. In this way, **46** I fancy, it has come about that the masses, in return for their excessive and unseasonable indifference, have lost their liberty; while their leading men, who fancied they were bartering away everything but themselves, discovered they had sold themselves first, for instead of friends and guest-friends, as they used to be called at the moment when they were taking bribes, they are now saluted as parasites and apostates and by all other well-deserved titles. For no one, men of Athens, spends money in pursuit **47** of the interest of the betrayer, nor when he is master of his purchase continues to consult the traitor about the future: otherwise nothing would be more fortunate than the traitor. But this is not so—how could it be? very far from it. Rather, when the aspirant for power is established as master of the situation, he is also lord over those who sold him his position, and, knowing their villany, then—if not before—he hates them and distrusts them and treats them with contumely. Only **48** look at the facts: for if the right time for action has gone by, the right time at any rate to learn lessons of this sort is always present to the prudent. Lasthenes bore the title of friend only until he betrayed Olynthus: Timolaus only till he ruined Thebes: Eudicus and Simus of Larissa only until they

τε κάγαθούς | ἔς τε τὰρχαῖον νόμισμα καὶ
τὸ καινὸν χρυσίον κ.τ.λ.

πλήν οὐκ, 'the danger would come, *only not* against themselves.'

5. ἑτέρων, genitive after κινδύνων.

46. 6. εἴτ' οἶμαι. 'It was thus, I suppose, that,' etc.

12. Before οὐδεὶς γάρ Dind. has εἰκότως.

47. 16. οὐδὲν γάρ, 'for, *in that case*, nothing,' etc. § 12.

17. πότεν; § 52.

48. 23. μέχρι τούτου, 'so long, and *no longer*.' For this limiting use cf. Thuc. i. 71. 3 μέχρι μὲν οὖν τοῦδε ὥρισθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδύτης.

26. ὁ Λαρισαῖος. Dind. has οἱ Λαρισαῖοι.

ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ ἐποίησαν. εἴτ' ἐλαυνομένων καὶ ὑβριζο-
μένων καὶ τί κακὸν οὐχὶ πασχόντων πᾶσα ἡ οἰκου-
μένη μεστὴ γέγονεν. τί δ' Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Σικυῶνι, καὶ
49 τί Περίλαος ἐν Μεγάρῳ; οὐκ ἀπερριμμένοι; ἐξ ὧν
καὶ σαφέστατ' ἂν τις ἴδοι ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα φυλάττων τὴν 5
ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ πλείστα ἀντιλέγων τούτοις, οὗτος
ὑμῖν, Αἰσχίνη, τοῖς προδιδούσι καὶ μισθαρνοῦσι τὸ ἔχειν
ἐφ' ὅτῳ δωροδοκήσετε περιποιεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς
τουτωνὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους τοῖς ὑμετέροις βουλή-
μασιν ὑμεῖς ἐστε σῶοι καὶ ἔμμισθοι, ἐπεὶ διὰ γε ὑμᾶς 10
αὐτοὺς πάλαι ἂν ἀπολώλειτε.

50 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν τότε πραχθέντων ἔχων ἔτι πολλὰ
λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγοῦμαι πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν εἰρησθαι·
αἷτιος δ' οὗτος, ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασίαν τινὰ μου τῆς πονη-
ρίας τῆς ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων κατασκεδάσας, ἣν 15
ἀναγκάϊον ἦν πρὸς τοὺς νεωτέρους τῶν πεπραγμένων
ἀπολύσασθαι. παρηνώχλησθε δὲ ἴσως, οἱ καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ
51 εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὖν εἰδότες τὴν τούτου τότε μισθαρνίαν. καίτοι
φιλίαν γε καὶ ξενίαν αὐτὴν ὀνομάζει, καὶ νῦν εἰπέ που
λέγων “ὁ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ξενίαν ὀνειδίζων ἐμοί.” ἐγὼ 20
σοι ξενίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου; πόθεν λαβόντι ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι;
οὔτε Φιλίππου ξένον οὔτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φίλον εἵποίμ'
ἂν ἐγὼ σε, οὐχ οὕτω μαίνομαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς θεριστὰς
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλοι τι μισθοῦ πράττοντας φίλους καὶ ξένους
52 δεῖ καλεῖν τῶν μισθωσαμένων. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· 25
πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. ἀλλὰ μισθωτὸν ἐγὼ σε
Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν Ἀλεξάνδρου καλῶ, καὶ
οὗτοι πάντες. εἰ δ' ἀπιστεῖς, ἐρώτησον αὐτούς. μᾶλλον

3. After γέγονεν Dind. has προδοτῶν.

49. 8. περιποιεῖ, 'makes to survive,' 'preserves' (cf. περιγίγνεσθαι) rather than 'makes to superabound.'

10. σῶοι. Dind. has σῶ.

50. 13. καὶ ταῦτα, 'even what I have said.'

14. ἐωλοκρασίαν, 'the remnant of the wine mixed over night.'

17. ἀπολύσασθαι, § 4. ἀπολούσα-

put Thessaly into Philip's hands: their service over, expelled and insulted and suffering every imaginable misery, the whole civilised world has become filled with them. What was the fate too of Aristratus in Sicyon, and what that of Perilaus in Megara? are they not outcasts? Hence one may see most distinctly that ⁴⁹ the man who most faithfully guards his country, and speaks most largely against these traitors, is the man, Aeschines, who preserves to you betrayers and hirelings, the possession of something on the strength of which you may get bribes; and it is thanks to the mass of your countrymen here and to those who withstood your wishes that you are safe and salaried; for, left to yourselves, you would have been ruined long ago.

And though I am able to say much more about the trans- ⁵⁰ actions of that time, I think that even what I have said is more than enough. Blame my opponent, because he has poured over my head the stale potion, I may call it, of his own villanies and iniquities, of which it was necessary that I should clear myself in the presence of those who are too young to remember the events. But perhaps those of you have felt a little annoyed, who, even before I uttered a syllable, were acquainted with my opponent's hiring service at that time. And yet he terms it friendship ⁵¹ and guest-friendship, and somewhere in his speech he dropped a phrase about 'the man who reproaches me for my guest-friendship with Alexander.' I reproach you for guest-friendship with Alexander? Whence could you have acquired it, or how could you have been qualified for it? I am not likely to speak of you as Philip's guest-friend or as Alexander's friend, I am not so mad,—unless we must also call reapers or those who do any other job for hire friends and guest-friends of their hirers. But this is not so—how could it be? far from it. What I do ⁵² call you is a hireling, once Philip's, now Alexander's, and so do all my hearers. If you disbelieve me, put the question to

σθαι and ἀποκλύσασθαι have been hypercritically conjectured.

17. παρηνώχλησθε, 'rather annoyed,' better than 'annoyed in the course of my narrative.'

Before ἵσως Dind. has καὶ ὑμεῖς.

51. 20. ὁ τὴν .. ἐμοί, Aeschines, contra Ct. § 66.

21. ἀξιώθεντι, § 128.

26. πόθεν κ.τ.λ. § 47.

δ' ἐγὼ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ σοῦ ποιήσω. πότερον ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μισθωτὸς Αἰσχίνης ἢ ξένος εἶναι Ἀλεξάνδρου; ἀκούεις ἃ λέγουσιν.

53 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἤδη καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφῆς αὐτῆς ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διεξελθεῖν τὰ πεπραγμέν' ἐμαυτῷ, 5 ἵνα καίπερ εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης ὅμως ἀκούσῃ δι' ἃ φημι καὶ τούτων τῶν προβεβουλευμένων καὶ πολλῶ μειζόνων ἔτι τούτων δωρεῶν δίκαιος εἶναι τυγχάνειν. Καί μοι λέγε τὴν γραφὴν αὐτὴν λαβών.

54 ΓΡΑΦΗ. [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος, ἐλαφηβολιῶνος 10 ἕκτη ἱσταμένου, Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδης ἀπήνεγκε πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα παρανόμων κατὰ Κτησιφώντος τοῦ Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλυστίου, ὅτι ἔγραψε παράνομον ψήφισμα, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ στεφανῶσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις 15 τοῖς μέγαλοις, τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, ὅτι στεφανοῖ ὁ δῆμος Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ διότι διατελεῖ πράττων καὶ λέγων τὰ βέλτιστα τῷ 20 δῆμῳ καὶ πρόθυμός ἐστι ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθόν,

55 πάντα ταῦτα ψευδῇ γράψας καὶ παράνομα, τῶν νόμων οὐκ ἐόντων πρῶτον μὲν ψευδεῖς γραφὰς εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι, εἴτα τὸν ὑπεύθυνον στεφανοῦν (ἔστι Δημοσθένης τειχοποιὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος), 25

52. 2. μισθωτός. Ulpian narrates that Demosthenes purposely mispronounced this word, and that his fastidious Athenian audience (or, the comic poet Menander) shouted to correct him. This story has been seriously refuted. Demosthenes probably trusted to his friends and claqueurs; unless, as Dissen suggests, the whole passage was added in the published edition of the speech.

53. 4. περὶ αὐτῆς, § 9.

8. δίκαιος εἶναι = δίκαιον εἶναι μοι,

§ 59. There is observable in Greek syntax a growing tendency to pass, at the expense of strict logic, from impersonal to personal constructions, until we even have δοκῶ μοι for δοκεῖ μοι. Cf. § 255.

9. αὐτήν, § 126 note.

54. 10. It is alleged that Demosthenes became τειχοποιός on the 3rd of Scirophorion in 'Chaerondas' year, which would be nearly three months after the 6th of Elaphebolion, the date of this decree; and that the indict-

them; or rather I will do so for you. Men of Athens, which do you think? Is Aeschines the hireling or the guest-friend of Alexander? You hear what they say.

This being so, I wish at once both to make my defence ⁵³ directly upon the indictment and to enumerate my own acts, that Aeschines, though well informed about them, may nevertheless hear the grounds upon which I affirm that I deserve to receive not only these honours granted me in the Previous Resolution but gifts far greater still than these. Simply take and read me the indictment.

INDICTMENT.

In the archonship of Chaerondas, on the sixth day of the com- ⁵⁴ mencement of Elaphebolion, Aeschines, son of Atrometus, of the deme Cothocis, in presence of the archon, preferred an indictment, for breach of the constitution, against Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes, of the deme Anaphlystus, on the ground that he had proposed an unconstitutional decree, to wit, that it is necessary to crown Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the deme Paeania, with a golden crown, and make the proclamation in the theatre at the great Dionysian festival, when the new tragic poets contend, to the effect that the people crown Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the deme Paeania, with a golden crown on account of his excellence, and on account of the loyalty which he continually cherishes to all the Hellenes and especially to the Athenian people, and on account of his noble conduct, and because he continues to do and to say what is best for the commons, and is zealous to perform every good action that he can—having proposed in all this what was false and unconstitutional, the laws forbidding, firstly, the entry of false pro- ⁵⁵ positions in the public archives, secondly, the crowning of one who is still accountable for an office (now Demosthenes is conservator of the walls and administrator of the theoric fund) and further

ment must have been laid before the thesmothetae, not the archon eponymus. Dissen, however, makes Demosthenes' appointment to have taken place in the previous year; and defends τὸν ἄρχοντα as a summary expression for all the archons.

12. παρανόμων, sc. γραφήν, which is found in some MSS.

16. τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, 'when the new tragic-writers appear.' For the use of the authors for the plays compare Cicero, Ad Att. i. 16. 11 gladiatorii-

bus = 'at the gladiatorial games.' Aeschines, § 34, has τραγῳδῶν ἀγανίζομένων καινῶν, but § 36 τραγῳδοῖς.

55. 24. καταβάλλεσθαι, § 103.

25. ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν. Dind. has ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ: cf. Aeschines, contra Ct. § 24, and, for the importance of the post, § 25 οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν χειροτονημένοι ἥρχον μὲν πρὶν ἢ τὸν Ἡγήμονος νόμον γενέσθαι τὴν τοῦ ἀντιγραφῆως ἀρχήν, ἥρχον δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀποδεκτῶν, καὶ νεώριον καὶ σκευοθήκην ψικδοῦμον, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ

high price
of ello

beat your

W. 13

3. 100

C. 100

what

ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδῶν τῇ καινῇ, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ἀνειπεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐν Πυκνὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. τίμημα τάλαντα πεντήκοντα. κλήτορες Κηφισοφῶν Κηφισοφῶντος Ῥαμνούσιος, Κλέων Κλέωνος 5 Κοθωκίδης.]

- 56 Ἄ μὲν διώκει τοῦ ψηφίσματος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τούτων πρῶτον οἶμαι δῆλον ὑμῖν ποιήσκειν ὅτι πάντα δικαίως ἀπολογήσομαι τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν τούτῳ ποιησάμενος τῶν γεγραμμένων 10 τάξιν περὶ πάντων ἐρῶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς καὶ οὐδὲν 57 ἐκὼν παραλείψω. τοῦ μὲν οὖν γράψαι πράττοντα καὶ λέγοντα τὰ βέλτιστά με τῷ δήμῳ διατελεῖν καὶ πρόθυμον εἶναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθόν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐν τοῖς πεπολιτευμένοις τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι νομίζω· 15 ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων εὐρέθησεται εἴτε ἀληθῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ γέγραφε Κτησιφῶν ταῦτα καὶ προσήκοντα 58 εἴτε καὶ ψευδῆ· τὸ δὲ μὴ προσγράψαντα “ἐπειδὰν τὰς εὐθύνας δῶ” στεφανοῦν, καὶ ἀνειπεῖν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸν στέφανον κελεῦσαι, κοινωνεῖν μὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς 20 πεπολιτευμένοις, εἴτε ἄξιός εἰμι τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως τῆς ἐν τούτοις εἴτε καὶ μή, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοὺς νόμους δεικτέον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, καθ' οὓς ταῦτα γράφειν ἐξῆν τούτῳ. οὕτως μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι

σχεδὸν τὴν ὅλην διοίκησιν εἶχον τῆς πόλεως.

1. ἔτι δὲ μὴ ἀναγορεύειν κ.τ.λ. Supply κελευόντων from οὐκ ἐώντων. Compare Herod. vii. 104 οὐκ ἐὼν φεύγειν ἀλλ' ἐπικρατέειν, Aristoph. Nub. 1483, Soph. El. 72, 436, 650, Oed. Tyr. 241, etc.

2. τῇ καινῇ, sc. εἰσόδῳ or ἐπαγωγῇ.

3. ἐν Πυκνί. See on ἀνω § 169.

4. κλήτορες. Dind. has κλητῆρες, the classical form.

56. 7. ἀ .. τοῦ ψηφίσματος, § 118.

10. τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν .. τάξιν. Demosthenes can hardly be said to follow the same order of topics as Aeschines, and possibly τούτῳ (as § 58) refers to Ctesiphon. In that case γεγραμμένων will not be the ‘counts of the indictment,’ but the ‘heads of the proposal in the decree of Ctesiphon.’ This agrees with γράψαι § 57, γράφειν § 58. It may be doubted whether τὰ γεγραμμένα is possible in the former sense: the passage quoted by Liddell and

ordering that we should not proclaim the crown in the theatre, at the Dionysian festival, on the new introduction of the dramatists; but, if the council confer the crown, should announce it in the council-hall, or, if the whole city confer it, in the Pnyx, during the assembly. Penalty fifty talents. Witnesses of citation Cephisophon, son of Cephisophon, of the deme Rhamnus, Cleon, son of Cleon, of the deme Cothocis.

The points in the bill which he attacks, men of Athens, are **56** these. But from these very points I think that I shall first make it clear to you that I shall defend myself throughout with justice: for, having adopted the same arrangement of the heads of the proposal as my client, I will speak of all singly and successively, and willingly will leave none untouched. Therefore, of my client's proposition that I 'continue to do and **57** say what is best for the people and am zealous to perform what good service I can,' and his proposal to give me a vote of thanks on these grounds, I think the means to judge lie in my acts of statesmanship: for from an examination of these it will be discovered whether Ctesiphon has made these propositions about me with truth and propriety, or falsely and improperly. **58** As to his proposal to crown me without having added the proviso, '*when he shall have rendered his accounts*,' and his bidding proclaim my crown in the theatre, this also I conceive must stand or fall with my statesmanship, as depending on whether I am worthy of the crown and of the proclamation before my countrymen or indeed unworthy. Nevertheless I think I must go further, and exhibit the laws also, in accordance with which it was competent to my client to make these proposals. Thus, men of Athens, I have resolved to make my defence justly and

Scott, *Lacr.* § 21. p. 930, is no parallel.

57. 14. ὃ τι δύναμαι. Dind. has ὅτι ἂν δύνωμαι.

ἐπαινεῖν is present, as the vote of thanks had not been given to Demosthenes: 'the proposal to give me a vote of thanks.' So στεφανοῦν § 58. See § 2 note on ἀκροάσασθαι.

16. ἀπὸ τούτων ἐξεταζομένων. Cf. § 32 διὰ . . . πεισθέντας.

58. 18. τὸ δὲ . . . στεφανοῦν. For construction see § 254 note. There is no occasion to take στεφανοῦν after κελεῖσθαι — indeed στεφανῶσαι would then be required: cf. on ἐπαινεῖν § 57. For the matter cf. Aesch. § 31.

22. ἐν τούτοις, 'in the presence of my countrymen.' If possible, it would be preferable to take it 'in the place and on the occasions named.'

μέντοι, § 12.

δικαίως καὶ ἀπλῶς τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἔγνωκα ποιεῖσθαι,
 59 βαδιοῦμαι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἃ πέπρακταί μοι. καί με μηδεὶς
 ὑπολάβῃ ἀπαρτᾶν τὸν λόγον τῆς γραφῆς, ἐὰν εἰς Ἑλλη-
 νικὰς πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐμπέσω. ὁ γὰρ διώκων τοῦ
 ψηφίσματος τὸ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ ἄριστα με καὶ 5
 γεγραμμένος ταῦτα ὡς οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς
 περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπολιτευμένων λόγους οἰκείους
 καὶ ἀναγκαίους τῇ γραφῇ πεποιηκός. εἴτα καὶ πολλῶν
 προαιρέσεων οὐσῶν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν περὶ τὰς Ἑλλη-
 νικὰς πράξεις εἰλόμην ἐγώ, ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐκ 10
 τούτων δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι.

60 Ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν ἐμέ
 προῦλαβε καὶ κατέσχε Φίλιππος, ἐάσω. οὐδὲν γὰρ
 ἡγοῦμαι τούτων εἶναι πρὸς ἐμέ. ἃ δ' ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ
 ταῦτα ἐπέστην ἐγὼ καὶ διεκωλύθη, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω καὶ 15
 τούτων ὑφέξω λόγον, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών. πλεονέκτημα
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι μέγα ὑπῆρξε Φιλίππῳ. παρὰ γὰρ
 61 τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐ τισὶν ἀλλ' ἅπασιν ὁμοίως, φορὰν προ-
 δοτῶν καὶ δωροδόκων καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων συνέβη
 γενέσθαι τοσαύτην, ὅσην οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον μέμνηται 20
 γεγонуῖαν. οὐς συναγωνιστὰς καὶ συνεργοὺς λαβὼν καὶ
πρότερον κακῶς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχοντας πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ
 στασιαστικῶς ἔτι χεῖρον διέθηκε, τοὺς μὲν ἐξαπατῶν,
 τοῖς δὲ διδοὺς, τοὺς δὲ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείρων, καὶ
 διέστησεν εἰς μέρη πολλὰ ἐνὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος ἅπασιν 25

2. ἐπ' αὐτά, § 9.

59. 3. ἀπαρτᾶν is literally 'to sus-
 pend from.' It is hard to derive from
 this sense of *attaching* the sense of
detaching, which is the usual inter-
 pretation here. Probably the mean-
 ing is 'make my speech hang but
 loosely on the indictment.' An inge-
 nious translation, which is rather dif-
 ferent and requires support, is given

by Simcox: 'make the indictment a
 mere peg to hang my speech on.'

5. τό, § 2 note.

8. εἴτα, 'besides,' § 22.

καὶ πολλῶν must be taken to-
 gether, 'quite a large number.'

9. τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις = the
 transactions of Athens with other
 Hellenic states.

60. 13. προῦλαβε, § 26.

straightforwardly : and so I will proceed at once to my actions. And let no one suppose that I am loosening my speech from 59 the indictment, if I dip into inter-Hellenic negotiations and discussions : for the man who attacks in the bill the statement that I 'say and do what is best,' and has indicted this as untrue, he it is who has made the discussion of all my public acts germane and necessary to the indictment. More than this, when there were very many departments of political life open to me, that which I chose concerned our inter-Hellenic transactions : consequently I am justified in drawing thence my demonstrations also.

The positions, therefore, which Philip took and secured 60 before I began public life and oratory I will say nothing about : for I take it that none of these things concerns me. But the actual checks he received, from the day on which I addressed myself to these cares, I will remind you of, and will render an account of them. But I must first premise thus much, that Philip, men of Athens, had a great advantage to begin with. For in the Hellenic communities, not here and there, but every- 61 where alike, it befell that a crop of traitors and takers of bribes and apostates had started up so enormous, as no one remembered to have ever before arisen. Having got these to work and strive with him, he brought the Hellenes, already ill-disposed to one another and ripe for faction, into still worse relations, by cheating some, and giving gold to others, and corrupting yet others in every fashion : and so he split them into many parties, though the interest of all was one, namely, to

οὐδέν . . πρὸς ἐμέ, § 44.

15. ταῦτα, i.e. πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν.

καὶ διεκωλύθη. Dind. omits καί, which, if retained, will mark the contrast between the 'actual checks Philip received' and his previous unbroken advance.

16. πλεονέκτημα is always used by

Demosthenes in a bad sense: 'an undue advantage favoured Philip.'

17. For ὑπάρχειν see Index.

61. 18. φεράν, § 271, Aeschines, § 234.

For προδοτῶν cf. § 295.

21. καὶ πρότερον, i.e. 'even before his interference.'

22. πρὸς ἑαυτοῦς, § 19.

- 62 ὄντος, κωλύειν ἐκεῖνον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι. ἐν τοιαύτῃ δὲ καταστάσει καὶ ἔτι ἀγνοία τοῦ συνισταμένου καὶ φυρομένου κακοῦ τῶν ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ὄντων δεῖ σκοπεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τί προσήκον ἦν ἐλέσθαι πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τούτων λόγον παρ' ἐμοῦ 5 λαβεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἑαυτὸν τάξας τῆς πολιτείας εἰμὶ
- 63 ἐγώ. πότερον αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸ φρόνημα ἀφείσαν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τὴν αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ Θετταλῶν καὶ Δολόπων τάξει συγκατακτᾶσθαι Φιλίππῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰ τῶν προγόνων καλὰ καὶ δίκαια 10 ἀναιρεῖν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν, δεινὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἀδ' ἑώρα συμβησόμενα, εἰ μηδεὶς κωλύσει, καὶ προησθάνεθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκ πολλοῦ, ταῦτα περιυδεῖν γιγνόμενα;
- 64 ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔγωγε τὸν μάλιστα ἐπιτιμῶντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην, τῆς ποίας μερίδος γενέσθαι τὴν 15 πόλιν ἐβούλετ' ἂν, πότερον τῆς συναιτίας τῶν συμβεβηκότων τοῖς Ἑλλησι κακῶν καὶ αἰσυχῶν, ἧς ἂν Θετταλοὺς καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τούτων εἴποι τις, ἢ τῆς περὶ εωρακυίας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἰδίας πλεονεξίας ἐλπίδι, ἧς ἂν Ἀρκάδας καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀργείους θείημεν. 20
- 65 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες, χεῖρον ἡμῶν ἀπηλλάχασιν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἐκράτησε Φίλιππος ὥχεται εὐθέως ἀπὼν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, μήτε τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα 25 μηδὲν λυπήσας, ἦν ἂν τις κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιωθέντων οἷς

62. 2. ἔτι may be used here of time—'still in ignorance;' but more probably is logically cumulative—'yet worse, in ignorance.'

φυρομένου. Dind. has *φυσόμενου*, cf. § 19.

4. πράττειν καὶ ποιεῖν, Fals. Leg. § 117. p. 373. The distinction seems here to be between continuous policy

(πράττειν) and special actions (ποιεῖν).

6. ἐνταῦθα must be taken with τῆς πολιτείας, 'in this quarter of the political field.'

63. 8. Θετταλῶν, § 43. The Thessalians had before, with the Dolopians, been traitors to Greece, at the time of Xerxes' invasion.

13. ὡς ἔοικεν, 'as was apparent,' not

prevent his growth. Thus, when all the Hellenes were in this 62 condition, and in ignorance, too, of the mischief that was gathering and fermenting against them, you must inquire, men of Athens, what the city ought to have chosen as her conduct and measures, and demand an account of these from me: for I am the man who planted himself at this political post. Which should she have done, Aeschines? Cast off her 63 proper spirit and dignity, and in Thessalian or Dolopian ranks helped Philip to acquire dominion over the Hellenes, and so cancelled the honourable and just precedents of your ancestors? or, while not doing this—for it would indeed have been terrible,—yet ought she to have connived at the occurrence of what she saw would come about, if no one should interpose, and divined, as we see, far in the future? 64 But even in the light of the present I should like to ask the severest critic of the transactions, to what sort of party he would have wished our city to belong, whether to that which helped in causing the disasters and dishonours that have befallen the Hellenes—to which one would say the Thessalians and their sympathisers belonged—or to that other side which idly watched these things occur under the hope of private aggrandisement—on which we should place the Arcadians and Messenians and Argives? Yet many even of these, or rather all, have come off 65 worse than we have. For in fact, if, on the one hand, Philip had immediately departed and disappeared after his victory, and had kept quiet ever after, without having injured any of his own allies or of the other Hellenes in any respect, then there might be some ground of reproach and accusation against

‘as it were.’

64. 14. ἀλλὰ νῦν. An ellipse must be supplied: ‘But, *without putting ourselves in the past*, with our present experience (νῦν) I, as I stand (ἐγώ γε), should like to ask,’ etc.

65. 21. ἀλλά. ‘I should answer that many even of these,’ etc. For ἀλλά in question and answer cf. § 24.

22. εἰ . . ᾗ γεν. See § 30 note.

25. Before ᾗν most MSS. give ὅμως, and some have οὐκ before ἐναντιωθέντων. There seems little doubt that both should be read, with Dissen, for the sense thus obtained is thoroughly accordant with Demosthenes’ life and policy: ‘even if Philip had gone clean away after his victory . . still there would have been reason to blame those who did not resist his invasion’

ἔπραττεν ἐκεῖνος μέμψις καὶ κατηγορία· εἰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀπάντων τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν περιείλετο, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ὅσων ἡδύνατο, πῶς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐνδοξότατα ὑμεῖς ἐβουλευσασθε ἐμοὶ πεισθέντες;

5

66 Ἄλλ' ἐκέισε ἐπ' ἀνέρχομαι. τί τὴν πόλιν, Αἰσχίνη, προσῆκε ποιεῖν ἀρχὴν καὶ τυραννίδα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρῶσαν ἑαυτῷ κατασκευαζόμενον Φίλιππον; ἢ τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἔδει λέγειν ἢ γράφειν, τὸν Ἀθήνησι (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πλείστον διαφέρει), ὃς συνῆδριν μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀνέβην, αἰεὶ περὶ πρωτείων καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγωνιζομένην τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ πλείω καὶ χρήματα καὶ σώματα ἀνηλωκυῖαν ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν πᾶσι συμφερόντων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀνηλώκασιν 15

67 ἕκαστοι, ἑώρων δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Φίλιππον, πρὸς δὴν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείας τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἐκκεκομμένον, τὴν κλεῖν κατεαγότα, τὴν χεῖρα, τὸ σκέλος πεπηρωμένον, πᾶν ὃ τι βουλευθείη μέρος ἢ τύχη τοῦ σώματος παρελῆσθαι, τοῦτο προΐεμενον, ὥστε τῷ λοιπῷ 20

68 μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ζῆν; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτό γε οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν τολμήσαι, ὥς τῷ μὲν ἐν Πέλλῃ τραφέντι, χωρίῳ ἀδόξῳ τότε γε ὄντι καὶ μικρῷ, τοσαύτην μεγαλοψυχίαν προσῆκεν ἐγγενέσθαι, ὥστε τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν νοῦν ἐμ- 25

[i.e. the Arcadians, Messenians, and Argives, as mentioned above], 'but, after what he has actually done, etc.' The reading of the text (which is also that of Dind.) virtually contradicts §§ 63, 69-72, and is tantamount to an admission by Demosthenes that his policy, down to the battle of Chaeronea, was conceivably mistaken; an admission which is made by him

on no other occasion, and would be madness now.

66. 6. ἐκέισε, § 64.

9. τὸν Ἀθήνησι. Dind. has τὸν Ἀθήνησιν ἐμέ. The pronoun is emphatic and indispensable, the sense being, 'What ought the city to have done? What ought I to have advised?' ἐμέ is necessary also to introduce the coming relative clauses which

those who thwarted his actions. But if, as we know, he stripped from all alike their prestige, their preeminence, their freedom, or rather their political existence, in as many cases as he could, must you not have taken the most glorious of all resolutions when you listened to me?

But I go back again to my old point. What, Aeschines, 66 ought the city to have done when she saw Philip building for himself a dominion or rather a despotism over the Hellenes? Or what was her minister required to say or propose, as a minister at Athens—for undoubtedly the place makes a world of difference—when I was conscious, on the one hand, that my country, from the beginning of time down to the day on which I myself first mounted the platform, had always struggled for primacy and honour and glory, and had spent more treasure and more blood in pursuit of a noble ambition and of the interests of all than each community of the other Hellenes has spent on its own behalf; and when, on the other hand, I saw 67 that Philip himself, our antagonist, in the quest of supremacy and unbridled power, had endured the excision of one eye, the fracture of his collar-bone, the mutilation of one hand and one leg, and was ready to sacrifice any portion of his body which fortune might choose to rob him of, if only with the relics he might live in honour and glory? Nobody, I am sure, would venture to say 68 as much as this, that the man who had been bred in Pella, a spot which at that time at any rate was unknown to fame and insignificant, should have had born within him magnanimity enough to aspire to rule the Hellenes and to write that purpose on his

are in the first person: nor does its insertion at all disjoint the connection between *Ἀθήνησιν* and the following parenthesis.

καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ., 'for undoubtedly this (i. e. the fact that I was at Athens) makes a world of difference.'

11. ἀφ' ἧς, 'on which for the first time:' compare the use of ἀπό with ἀρχομαι and verbs of similar meaning.

67. 19. πᾶν, § 5.

20. Before προΐμενον Dissen retains ῥαδίως καὶ ἐτοίμως, found in most MSS.

68. 21. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο. 'And we may be sure that no one will dare to say this either,' i. e. just as no one would say that we should have sided with the Thessalians or Arcadians, §§ 64, 65. καὶ μὴν οὐδέ § 76.

βαλέσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' οὖσιν Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐν πᾶσι καὶ λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασι τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα θεωροῦσι τοσαύτην κακίαν ὑπάρξαι, ὥστε τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἐθελοντὰς παραχωρῆσαι Φιλίππῳ. οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ταῦτα φήσειεν. 5
 69 λοιπὸν τοίνυν ἦν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἅμα πᾶσιν οἷς ἐκείνος ἔπραττεν ἀδικῶν ὑμᾶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι δικαίως. τοῦτ' ἐποιεῖτε μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, εἰκότως καὶ προσηκόντως, ἔγραφον δὲ καὶ συνεβούλευον καὶ ἐγὼ καθ' οὓς ἐπολιτευόμεν χρόνους. ὁμολογῶ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; 10
 ἤδη γάρ σ' ἐρωτῶ, πάντα τὰλλ' ἀφείς, Ἀμφίπολιν, 70 Πύδναν, Ποτίδαιαν, Ἀλόννησον οὐδενὸς τούτων μέμνημαι. Σέρριον δὲ καὶ Δορίσκον καὶ τὴν Πεπαρήθου πόρθησιν καὶ ὅσ' ἄλλα ἡ πόλις ἡδικοῖτο, οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα. καίτοι σύ γ' ἔφησθά με ταῦτα λέγοντα εἰς 15
 ἔχθραν ἐμβαλεῖν τουτουσί, Εὐβούλου καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντος καὶ Διοπεΐθους τῶν περὶ τούτων ψηφισμάτων ὄντων, οὐκ 71 ἐμῶν, ὧ λέγων εὐχερῶς ὃ τι ἂν βουληθῆς. οὐδὲ νῦν περὶ τούτων ἐρῶ. ἀλλ' ὃ τὴν Εὐβοίαν ἐκείνος σφετεριζόμενος καὶ κατασκευάζων ἐπιτείχισμα ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττι- 20
 κήν, καὶ Μεγάροις ἐπιχειρῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνων Ὠρεόν,

1. κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκάστην. As *κάθ' ἡμέραν*, or more fully *κάθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην*, signifies 'day by day,' 'daily,' but *κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν*, 'throughout the day,' here we have both constructions combined, 'throughout every day.'

2. θεωρήμασι can hardly mean 'dramas' (Kennedy), which were not to be witnessed every day, nor, if they were, did they always deal with Athenian heroes. More probably *θεώρημα* is used ('as a grander form of *θέαμα*, Dissen) for any 'sight' or 'spectacle' in the widest sense.

4. Before *ἐλευθερίας* Dind. has *τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, which corresponds to *τῆς*

τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς above, and agrees with § 66, where Athens not only fights for herself, but is the champion of Hellas.

69. 6. *λοιπόν*, § 23.

70. 14. οὐδ' εἰ γέγονεν οἶδα, lit. 'I do not even know if they have existed,' = 'I ignore them.'

71. 18. οὐδὲ νῦν, 'now, as then, I do not speak about these.'

19. ὁ .. ἐκείνος σφετεριζόμενος. The ἐκείνος should have followed the participle or preceded the article, according to the general rule which requires the attributive participle to stand *between* the article and the subject: as § 208 τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι

heart, while in you, though Athenians, though daily and all day long, in every speech and spectacle, seeing something to quicken the memory of your fathers' valour, should have been engendered such baseness as at your own invitation and voluntarily to retire from your freedom before the approach of Philip. No one living would say this. It therefore remained, 69 and was compulsory too, that you should offer a right resistance to all his wrong doing. You did so from the beginning, reasonably and properly; and I also made proposals and advised you to this effect throughout all the periods during which I took part in politics. I own it. But what should I have tried to do? For I put the question to you at once, Aeschines, dismissing everything else, Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, Halonnesus—I recollect none of these. Serrium and Doriscus and 70 the ravaging of Peparethus, and all the other wrongs the city suffered, are a blank to me. And yet you, we remember, asserted that by speaking of these I hurled my countrymen into hostilities, although the decrees concerning these matters came from Eubulus and Aristophon and Diopithes, not from me, you glib speaker of whatever slander you please. Now, as before, 71 I will say nothing about them. But I ask you whether Philip, who was appropriating Euboea and preparing a post of offence against Attica, and laying hands on Megara, and surprising

κειμένους αγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, § 241 τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὀρμωμένων ληστῶν, § 238 τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων. The last example is apparently parallel to the present passage, but not really so; for ἐκείνων does not there stand for the subject, as ἐκείνος does here, but is the demonstrative adjective. The rule however is very frequently, indeed idiomatically, violated. Where an attributive participle is attended by an object or an adverbial expression, the subject (substantive generally, or pronoun, as here) is not logically waited for, but is inserted before the participle. Thus the normal ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένη μάχη is found as ἡ ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχη γενο-

μένη: so Thuc. i. 90 τὴν ἐς τὸν Μηδικὸν πόλεμον τόλμαν γενομένην for τὴν .. γενομένην τόλμαν. Demosthenes affords many examples of this idiom: in this speech we have, § 98, τὴν τότε Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, § 126 διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας εἰρημένης, § 201 τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, § 293 τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένη, § 314 τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὐνοίαν ὑπάρχουσαν, and perhaps § 82 οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιστίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι, § 72 τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην, § 133 τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγροίαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν. Cf. κοινήν § 271.

I will say nothing to mention

καὶ κατασκάπτων Πορθμόν, καὶ καθιστὰς ἐν μὲν Ὠρεῶ
 Φιλισιτίδην τύραννον ἐν δ' Ἑρετρία Κλείταρχον, καὶ
 τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιούμενος, καὶ Βυζάντιον
 πολιορκῶν, καὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἃς μὲν ἀναιρῶν, εἰς ἃς
 δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας κατὰγων, πότερον ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν 5
 ἡδίκηκε καὶ παρεσπόνδει καὶ ἔλυσεν τὴν εἰρήνην ἢ οὐ; καὶ
 πότερον φανῆναί τινα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸν ταῦτα κωλύ-
 72 σοντα ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐχρῆν ἢ μή; εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἐχρῆν,
 ἀλλὰ τὴν Μυσῶν λείαν καλουμένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὖσαν
 ὀφθῆναι ζώντων καὶ ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, περιείργασμαι 10
 μὲν ἐγὼ περὶ τούτων εἰπὼν, περιείργασται δ' ἡ πόλις ἢ
 πεισθεῖσα ἐμοί, ἔστω δὲ ἀδικήματα πάντα ἃ πέπρακται
 καὶ ἁμαρτήματα ἐμά. εἰ δὲ ἔδει τινὰ τούτων κωλυτὴν
 φανῆναι, τίνα ἄλλον ἢ τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον προσῆκε γε-
 νέσθαι; ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐπολιτευόμην ἐγώ, καὶ ὄρων κατα- 15
 δουλούμενον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους ἡναντιούμην,
 καὶ προλέγων καὶ διδάσκων μὴ προῖεσθαι διετέλουν.
 73 Καὶ μὴν τὴν εἰρήνην γ' ἐκείνος ἔλυσεν τὰ πλοῖα λα-
 βὼν, οὐχ ἢ πόλις, Αἰσχίνη. Φέρε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ψηφίς- 20
 ματα καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ λέγε
 ἐφεξῆς· ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτων, τίς τίνος αἰτίος ἐστι, γενήσεται
 φανερόν.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Νεοκλέους, μηνὸς βοη-

δρομιῶνος, ἐκκλησία σύγκλητος ὑπὸ στρατηγῶν, Εὐβουλος 25

4. ἃς μὲν .. εἰς ἃς δέ. The old demonstrative *ὅς* remains in Attic in a few phrases only, *ὅς καὶ ὅς, ἧ δ' ὅς, καὶ ὅς εἶπε*: but with *μὲν* and *δέ* the forms *ὁ, τοῦ, τῷ*, etc. are invariably found. Hence we should probably read here *τὰς μὲν .. τὰς δέ*. See on §§ 164, 182.

5. κατὰγων. The reinstatement of political exiles meant revolution, or at least the renewal of *στάσις*, of which Thucydides paints such a terrible picture iii 82 sqq.

6. ἢ οὐ; sc. ἔλυσεν, 'or did he not violate the peace?'

8. ἢ μή; sc. φανῆναι, 'or ought a Hellene to have refrained from rising up to prevent him?'

72. 9. Μυσῶν λείαν, 'an unresisting prey.' The proverbial expression is said to have arisen from the tradition that Mysia, while its king Telephus and its warriors were away at Troy, suffered from marauders whom it had no power to repel. Cf. § 71.

Oreus, and razing Porthmus to the ground, and setting up Philistides as despot in Oreus and Clitarchus in Eretria, and bringing the Hellespont into his own control, and besieging ^{one year} Byzantium, and destroying some Hellenic cities and reinstating ^{another} in others their rebels, in doing all this acted unjustly and violated the truce and broke the peace, or did not? And whether ought some Hellene to have stood forth to prevent him doing these things, or to have refrained? For if we 72 ought not to have stood forth, if Hellas ought to have been exhibited as the Mysian prey of the proverb while Athenians lived and breathed, then I first have exceeded my duty in speaking about these questions, and the state also, which took my advice, has exceeded her duty; and let all that has been done be crimes or blunders of mine. But if it was necessary that some one should stand forth to interpose, who else should it have been but the Athenian people? Such, therefore, was my policy, and when I saw Philip enslaving all the world I withstood him, and constantly warned and taught you not to surrender.

Undoubtedly it was Philip who broke the peace by the capture 73 of our vessels,—it was not Athens, Aeschines. [*To the clerk.*] Simply bring the decrees and the letter of Philip, and read them one after the other: for from these it will be made apparent to whom and for what responsibility attaches.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Neocles, during the month Boëdromion, at an extraordinary assembly called together by the generals, Eubulus,

12. πάντα ἃ πέπρακται is subject, ἀδικήματα καὶ ἀμαρτήματα ἐμά predicate.

17. Before προῖσθαι Dind. has ταῦτα Φιλίππου.

73. 19. Aeschines, c. Ct. § 83.

20. αὐτά, § 126 note.

24. ψήφισμα. The name of the archon is incorrect, the day of the month is wanting, and the deme of Eubulus was Anaphlystus, not Coprus.

The word μεμψιμοιρεῖ properly means to 'complain of one's fate,' and is not found till Lucian and Polybius: in the general sense of 'blaming' it only occurs once in the latter. The signification of ἰδία is doubtful: if it means 'on his sole responsibility,' it has little force as applied to the autocrat Philip; if it means 'wilfully' (Kennedy), it is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον. The constructions

Μνησιθέου Κόπριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ προσήγγειλαν οἱ στρα-
τηγοὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὥς ἄρα Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον
καὶ τὰ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποσταλέντα σκάφη εἴκοσι ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ
σίτου παραπομπὴν εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον ὁ παρὰ Φιλίππου
στρατηγὸς Ἀμύντας καταγέοχεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐν 5
φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς στρα-
τηγοὺς ὅπως ἡ βουλὴ συναχθῶσι καὶ αἰρεθῶσι πρέσβεις
74 πρὸς Φίλιππον, οἱ παραγενόμενοι διαλέξονται πρὸς αὐτὸν
περὶ τοῦ ἀφεθῆναι τὸν ναύαρχον καὶ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώτας. καὶ εἰ μὲν δι' ἄγνοίαν ταῦτα πεποίηκεν ὁ 10
Ἀμύντας, ὅτι οὐ μεμψιμοιρεῖ ὁ δῆμος οὐδέν· εἰ δέ τι
πλημμελοῦντα παρὰ τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα λαβὼν, ὅτι ἐπισκε-
ψάμενοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπιτιμήσουσι κατὰ τὴν τῆς ὀλιγορίας
ἀξίαν. εἰ δὲ μηδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ ἀγνω-
μονοῦσιν ἢ ὁ ἀποστείλας ἢ ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ λέγειν, 15
ἵνα αἰσθανόμενος ὁ δῆμος βουλευσῇται τί δεῖ ποιεῖν.]

75 Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν τὸ ψήφισμα Εὐβουλος ἔγραψεν,
οὐκ ἐγώ, τὸ δ' ἐφ'exῆς Ἀριστοφῶν, εἰθ' Ἡγήσιππος, εἰτ'
Ἀριστοφῶν πάλιν, εἶτα Φιλοκράτης, εἶτα Κηφισοφῶν,
εἶτα πάντες· ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων. Λέγε. 20

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ. [Ἐπὶ Νεοκλέους ἀρχοντος, βοηδρο-
μιῶνος ἔνη καὶ νέα, βουλῆς γνώμη, πρυτάνεις καὶ στρατη-
γοὶ ἐχρημάτισαν τὰ ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀνενεγκόντες, ὅτι
ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ πρέσβεις ἐλέσθαι πρὸς Φίλιππον περὶ τῆς
τῶν πλοίων ἀνακομιδῆς καὶ ἐντολὰς δοῦναι κατὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς 25
ἐκκλησίας ψηφίσματα. καὶ εἵλοντο τούσδε, Κηφισο-

are awkward: before ὅτι something like ἐροῦσιν must be supplied from διαλέγονται; with πλημμελοῦντα we must understand Λεωδάμαντα τὸν ναύαρχον, and λέγειν (τοῦτο λέγειν Dind.) seems utterly without syntax. Strictly the infinitive should be parallel to ἐπιμεληθῆναι, 'that the prytanies and generals should also state the fact,' whereas the context requires that the subject of the verb should be the am-

bassadors. Some MSS. have γράψαι λέγειν, which Kennedy makes depend on εἶπεν, and construes 'to insert an order in the decree for the ambassadors to state.' Although γράψαι is omitted in most MSS. it is retained by Disson, who ejects λέγειν, and renders καὶ τοῦτο γράψαι ut rescribant [legati] etiam hoc ad populum.

7. συναχθῶσι. For the plural see εἵλοντο § 75. Dind. has συναχθῇ, and

son of Mnesitheus, of the deme Coprus, moved that, Whereas the generals made a report in the assembly, to wit, that Leodamas the naval commander and the twenty ships despatched with him to the Hellespont for the convoy of the corn have by Philip's admiral, Amyntas, been taken into harbour to Macedonia and are kept under arrest, the prytanes and the generals shall take care that the council hold a meeting and choose deputies to go to Philip, which deputies shall obtain an audience and shall confer 74 with him for the release of our commander and the ships and the crews. And if, on the one hand, Amyntas has committed these acts in ignorance, they shall say that the people of the Athenians is in no way censorious; but if he did so because he had found the Athenian admiral in any way exceeding his instructions, they shall say that the Athenians after investigation will punish him according to the gravity of his misdemeanour. But if neither of these is the case, and either he who gave the commission or he who bore the commission wilfully offends, then they shall report the same also, in order that the people on receiving information may deliberate what to do.

This decree then was proposed by Eubulus, not by me, and 75 the next by Aristophon, the next by Hegesippus, the next by Aristophon again, the next by Philocrates, the next by Cephisophon, the rest by anybody; but I had nothing to do with these matters. [To the clerk.] Please read.

DECREES.

In the archonship of Neocles, on the last day of Boëdromion, by resolution of the council, the prytanes and generals opened business by reporting the proceedings in the assembly, viz. that it seemed good to the people that the council should choose deputies to go to Philip to effect the recovery of the ships, and that the council should instruct them according to the decrees received from the assembly. And they chose the following, Cephisophon, son of

also reads οἱ τινες before παραγενόμενοι, αὐτῷ after οὐδέν.

74. 11. ὅτι, § 185.

75. 20. πάντες. See on § 5. Dind. adds οἱ ἄλλοι.

21. ψηφίσματα. Only one ψήφισμα is here given, although Demosthenes, § 76, seems to imply that more have been read. In this (which is, by the way, not a decree at all, but merely minutes of proceedings at the βουλή)

the archon is wrong (as § 73), and Aristophon, though of the deme Colyttus, and therefore of the tribe Ægeis, is made πρόεδρος during the prytanyship of the tribe Hippothōontis. See, however, Index, s. v. βουλή, on πρόεδροι who were not πρυτάνεις.

24. ἐλίσθαι, sc. τὴν βουλήν, cf. § 73.

26. εἴλοντο, for plural after βουλή cf. § 73 συναχθῶσι.

φῶντα Κλέωνος Ἀναφλύστιον, Δημόκριτον Δημοφῶντος Ἀναγυράσιον, Πολύκριτον Ἀπημάντου Κοθωκίδην. πρυτανεία φυλῆς Ἴπποθοωντίδος, Ἀριστοφῶν Κολυττεὺς πρόεδρος εἶπεν.]

- 76 Ὡσπερ τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα δεικνύω τὰ ψηφίσματα, 5 οὕτω σὺ δεῖξον, Αἰσχίνη, ὁποῖον ἐγὼ γράψας ψήφισμα αἵτιός εἰμι τοῦ πολέμου. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις· εἰ γὰρ εἶχες, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῦ πρότερον νυνὶ παρέσχου. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ Φίλιππος οὐδὲν αἰτιᾶται ἐμὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου, ἑτέροις ἐγκαλῶν. Λέγε δ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν 10 τὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου.

- 77 ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ. [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. παραγενόμενοι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πρεσβευταί, Κηφισοφῶν καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Πολύκριτος, διελέγοντο περὶ τῆς τῶν 15 πλοίων ἀφέσεως ὧν ἐνανάρχει Λαομέδων. καθ' ὅλου μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε φαίνεσθε ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐθελείᾳ ἔσεσθαι, εἴ γ' οἴεσθ' ἐμὲ λανθάνειν ὅτι ἐξαπεστάλη ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τὸν σίτον παραπέμψοντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου εἰς Λήμνον, βοηθήσοντα δὲ Σηλυμβριανοῖς τοῖς 20 ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μὲν πολιορκουμένοις, οὐ συμπεριειλημμένοις δὲ
- 78 ἐν ταῖς τῆς φιλίας κοινῇ κειμέναις ἡμῖν συνθήκαις. καὶ ταῦτα συνετάχθη τῷ ναυάρχῳ ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ δέ τινων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐτέρων ἰδιωτῶν 25 μὲν νῦν ὄντων, ἐκ παντὸς δὲ τρόπου βουλομένων τὸν δῆμον ἀντὶ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχούσης πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλίας τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλαβεῖν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον φιλοτιμουμένων τοῦτο συντετελέσθαι ἢ τοῖς Σηλυμβριανοῖς βοηθήσαι. καὶ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν αὐτοῖς τὸ τοιοῦτο πρόσοδον ἔσεσθαι· οὐ

76. 6. ὁποῖον. Dind. has ποῖον. Cf. ποίας § 284. This use of ποῖος (ὁποῖος) for τίς, to imply incredulity or contempt, is common in Aristophanes: cf. Clouds, 366—

ΣΤ. ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ἡμῖν φέρε, πρὸς τῆς Γῆς, οὐλύμπιος οὐ θεός ἐστιν;
ΣΩ. ποῖος Ζεὺς; οὐ μὴ ληρήσεις; οὐδ' ἐστὶ Ζεὺς.

Cleon, of the deme Anaphlystus, Democritus, son of Demophon, of the deme Anagyrus, Polycritus, son of Apemantus, of the deme Colhocis. In the prytanyship of the tribe Hippothoontis, Aristophon of the deme Colyttus, as one of the presidents, made the motion.

In the same way, accordingly, as I exhibit these decrees, I 76 call upon you also, Aeschines, to show what semblance of a decree I proposed and made myself responsible for the war. But you will not be able: for, were you able, there is nothing which you would have sooner produced in your recent speech. Still further, not Philip himself cast any charge on me with respect to the war, even while blaming others. [*To the clerk.*] Simply read Philip's letter.

LETTER OF PHILIP.

Philip, king of the Macedonians, to the council and the commons 77 of the Athenians, greeting. Your ambassadors, Cephisophon and Democritus and Polycritus, having come into my presence, conferred with me for the release of the vessels of which Laomedon was commander. Absolutely speaking, you seem to me to be likely to labour under great simplicity, if you fancy that it escapes my notice that these vessels had been despatched ostensibly to convey the corn from the Hellespont to Lemnus, but in reality to help the people of Selymbria, who at that time were besieged by me, and on the other hand had not been comprehended in the covenants of friendship mutually established between us. And these were additional instructions 78 given to the commander, without the knowledge of the Athenian people, by certain magistrates and others, now indeed out of office, but in every way wishful that the people, in place of the friendship now subsisting towards me, should again take up the war, being far more ambitious that this should be accomplished than to give aid to the Selymbrians. And they conceive that such an event will be a source of revenue to themselves: nevertheless it does not seem

7. εἰ γὰρ εἶχες .. παρέσχου. See § 30 note.

10. αὐτήν, § 126 note.

77. 12. Ἐπιστολή Φιλίππου. The siege of Selymbria is nowhere else mentioned: the MSS. read Λαομέδων

(Dind. corrects to Λεωδάμας), which disagrees with § 73; πρεσβευταί for πρέσβεις, and φαίνεσθε ἔσεσθαι are not good Greek, though perhaps they might be good Macedonian.

78. 29. πρόσσodon, 'a source of re-

μέντοι μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὑπάρχειν οὐθ' ὑμῖν οὐτ' ἐμοί. διόπερ τά τε νῦν καταχθέντα πλοῖα πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφίημι ὑμῖν, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ, ἂν βούλησθε μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ὑμῶν κακοήθως πολιτεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶτε, πειράσομαι καὶ γὰρ διαφυλάττειν τὴν εἰρήνην. 5 εὐτυχεῖτε.]

- 79 Ἐνταῦθ' οὐδαμοῦ Δημοσθένην γέγραφεν, οὐδ' αἰτίαν οὐδεμίαν κατ' ἐμοῦ. τί ποτ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλῶν τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων οὐχὶ μέμνηται; ὅτι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἂν ἐμémνητο τῶν αὐτοῦ, [εἴ τι περὶ ἐμοῦ γεγρά- 10 φει] τούτων γὰρ εἰχόμεν ἐγὼ καὶ τούτοις ἡναντιούμην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον πρεσβείαν ἔγραψα, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκείνος εἰς Πελοπόννησον παρεδύετο, εἶτα τὴν εἰς Εὐβοίαν, ἥνικ' Εὐβοίας ἤπτετο, εἶτα τὴν ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν ἔξοδον, οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, καὶ τὴν 15 εἰς Ἐρέτριαν, ἐπειδὴ τυράννους ἐκείνος ἐν ταύταις ταῖς 80 πόλεσι κατέστησεν. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ἀπέστειλα, καθ' οὓς Χερρόνησος ἐσώθη καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν μὲν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἔπαινοι δόξαι τιμαὶ στέφανοι χάριτες, 20 παρὰ τῶν εὐ πεπονθότων ὑπῆρχον, τῶν δ' ἀδικουμένων τοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν τότε πεισθεῖσιν ἡ σωτηρία περιεγένετο, τοῖς δ' ὀλιγωρήσασι τὸ πολλάκις ὧν ὑμεῖς προείπατε μεμνήσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν ὑμᾶς μὴ μόνον εἴνους ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονίμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ μάντις εἶναι· 25 81 πάντα γὰρ ἐκβέβηκεν ἃ προείπατε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν ἂν χρήματα ἔδωκε Φιλιστίδης ὥστ' ἔχειν Ὠρεόν,

venue: cf. Fals. Leg. § 158. p. 386 γεωργία . . . τάλαντον ἔχουσαι πρόσδοον.
3. μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν, 'not to allow.'
Cf. Fals. Leg. § 303. p. 426 μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀλλὰ κολάζειν δημοσίᾳ.
Thuc. vi. 40 ὡς πρὸς αἰσθομένους καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέποντας ἀπαλλάγητε.

79. 10. γεγράφει. Shilleto conjectures γ' ἔγραφεν Fals. Leg. Annot. Crit. § 160. p. 386.

11. εἰχόμεν . . . καὶ . . . ἡναντιούμην, 'I was indissolubly connected with them, that is to say, I opposed them.'

13. παρεδύετο. Philip did not ac-

to me that it is essentially expedient either to you or to me. Therefore I release unto you the ships which were recently brought into our harbour, and for the future if you will consent not to suffer your leading men to manage public affairs in an unprincipled manner, but will censure them, I also will try rigorously to maintain the peace. Farewell.

Nowhere in this letter has he written the name 'Demosthenes,' 79 — or any charge against me. For what possible reason therefore has he, while blaming the others, refrained from mentioning the acts done by me? Because he would have mentioned his own iniquities if he had written a word about me: for I was closely bound to them as being their opponent. And firstly I proposed the embassy to the Peloponnese, when he was worming his way into the Peloponnese, next the embassy to Euboea, when he was laying hands on Euboea, next the expedition to Oreus, no longer an embassy, and that to Eretria, when he had established despots in these cities. After this I despatched all 80 the naval squadrons, in consequence of which the Chersonese and Byzantium and all the allies were delivered. Hence you had a store of the most honourable rewards, laudations, glories, privileges, crowns, votes of thanks, from those whom you had benefited; while, of the sufferers, those on the one hand who had listened to you in time had their salvation as their reward, but the others, who despised your advice, as their reward had often to remember the warning that you had given them, and had to think that you were not only well-intentioned towards them but also men of sense or rather prophets: for all has come true which you predicted. Still further, that Philistides 81 would have given large sums of money to keep Oreus, and

tually get into the Peloponnese till after Chaeronea; 'tried to insinuate himself.' For the word cf. c. Andr. § 48. p. 608. c. Tim. § 160. p. 750, Aeschin. c. Ct. § 37.

15. οὐκέτι πρεσβείαν, i.e. embassies

being out of date.

80. 18. ἀπέστειλα, §§ 107, 108.

19. σύμμαχοι, § 302.

20. τιμαί, 'honourable privileges,' such as are mentioned § 91.

81. 26. πολλὰ μὲν . . . πολλὰ δέ, § 42.

πολλά δὲ Κλείταρχος ὥστ' ἔχειν Ἑρέτριαν, πολλά δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Φίλιππος ὥστε ταῦθ' ὑπάρχειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μηδὲν ἐξελέγχεσθαι μηδ' ἂ ποιῶν ἡδίκηι μηδένα ἐξετάζειν πανταχοῦ, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ, καὶ 5
 82 πάντων ἥκιστα σὺ· οἱ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ Κλειτάρχου καὶ τοῦ Φιλιππίδου τότε πρέσβεις δεῦρ' ἀφικνούμενοι παρὰ σοὶ κατέλουν, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ σὺ προὔξενεις αὐτῶν· οὐδ' ἢ μὲν πόλις ὥς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε συμφέροντα λέγοντας ἀπήλασε, σοὶ δ' ἦσαν φίλοι. οὐ τοίνυν ἐπράχθη τούτων οὐδέν, ὧ βλασφημῶν περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ 10
 λέγων ὥς σιωπῶ μὲν λαβών, βοῶ δ' ἀναλώσας. ἀλλ' οὐ σύ, ἀλλὰ βοᾷς μὲν ἔχων, παύσει δὲ οὐδέποτ', ἐὰν μὴ 83
 σε οὔτοι παύσωσιν ἀτιμώσαντες τήμερον. στεφανωσάντων τοίνυν ὑμῶν ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τότε, καὶ γράψαντος Ἀριστονίκου τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς ὥσπερ οὐτοσὶ Κτησι- 15
 φῶν νῦν γέγραφε, καὶ ἀναρρηθέντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ δευτέρου κηρύγματος ἤδη μοι τούτου γιγνομένου, οὗτ' ἀντεῖπεν Αἰσχίνης παρὼν οὔτε τὸν εἰπόντα ἐγράψατο. Καί μοι λέγε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα λαβών.

20

84 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου Ἡγέμονος ἄρχοντος, γαμηλιῶνος ἕκτη ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Λεοντίδος, Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρ- σχηται τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συμμάχων 25
 καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ βεβοήθηκε διὰ

2. αὐτῷ. Dind. has αὐτῷ.

4. πανταχοῦ, § 5.

82. 5. οἱ γὰρ . . ἀφικνούμενοι, § 71.

11. σιωπῶ κ.τ.λ. Aesch. c. Ct. § 218
 σὺ δ' οἶμαι λαβὼν μὲν σεσίγηκας ἀνα-
 λώσας δὲ κέκραγας.

13. ἀτιμώσαντες. For the partial
 ἀτιμία risked by Aeschines see on

§ 3.

83. 17. καὶ δευτέρου . . τούτου γιγ-
 νομένου is parenthetical: 'and this pro-
 clamations (proposed by Ctesiphon)
 being now the second one which is
 coming off in my favour.' We do not
 know of any proclamation in the
 theatre of a crown given to Demo-

Clitarchus to keep Eretria, and Philip himself that these places should remain in his power to your hurt, and that he should be exposed in none of his other actions, and that no one should anywhere examine what he was unjustly doing, no one is ignorant, and you least of all men. For the ambassadors who came 82 hither at that time from Clitarchus and Philistides lodged with you, Aeschines, and you were their protector—men who were expelled by your country as enemies and as making proposals which were neither just nor expedient, and yet were friends to you. None then of their suggestions were carried out, you calumniator of me, who assert that I am silent when I have received a fee but shout when I have spent it. You certainly do not so: you shout while you retain your fee, and you will never stop, unless my hearers stop you by disfranchising you to- 83 day. When, accordingly, my countrymen crowned me at that time on these grounds, when Aristonicus made his proposal in the same syllables as my client Ctesiphon has lately drafted, and when the crown was proclaimed in the theatre, (this being the second proclamation which is now coming off in my favour), Aeschines, though present, neither spoke in opposition nor indicted the mover of the proposal. [*To the clerk.*] Please take and read this decree also.

THE DECREE.

In the archonship of Chaerondas, son of Hegemon, on the sixth 84 day from the close of the month Gamelion, in the prytanyship of the tribe Leontis, Aristonicus, of the deme Phrearri, moved that, Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the deme Paeania, hath afforded many great services to the people of the Athenians and to many of their allies in former times, and during the present crisis has rendered assistance by his decrees and has liberated some

sthenes previous to that of Aristonicus. But Demosthenes himself, § 223, speaks of others, exactly similar, which came between that of Aristonicus and that of Ctesiphon, cf. § 120: hence *δευτέρου* is difficult. The difficulty might be got over by reading, with one MS., *ἐκείνου γενομένου*, and

supposing some similar occasion earlier than Aristonicus.

84. 21. *ψήφισμα*. The archon again is wrong, and the apparent introduction of his father's name unusual.

22. *ἔκτῃ* = the 24th, as Gamelion had this year 29 days.

τῶν ψηφισμάτων καὶ τινας τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεων ἠλευθέρωκε, καὶ διατελεῖ εὖνους ὧν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ λέγει καὶ πράττει ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται ἀγαθὸν ὑπὲρ τε αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην 5 Δημοσθένους Παιανιέα καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς, τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὴν πρυτανεύουσαν φυλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην. εἶπεν Ἀριστόνικος Φρεάρριος.] 10

85 Ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις ὑμῶν οἶδέ τινα αἰσχύνῃν τῇ πόλει συμβᾶσαν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα ἢ χλευασμὸν ἢ γέλωτα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος ἔφη συμβήσεσθαι, ἐὰν ἐγὼ στεφανῶμαι; καὶ μὴν ὅταν ᾗ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ ^{πραγμάματα} 15 πράγματα, ἐὰν τε καλῶς ἔχῃ, χάριτος τυγχάνει, ἐὰν θ' ὡς ἐτέρως, τιμωρίας. φαίνομαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ χάριτος τετυχηκὼς τότε, καὶ οὐ μέμψεως οὐδὲ τιμωρίας.

86 Οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς ταυτ' ἐπράχθη, πάντας ἀνωμολόγηται τὰ ἄριστα πράττειν τῇ πόλει, τῷ νικᾶν, ὅτ' ἐβουλευέσθε, λέγων καὶ γράφων, 20 τῷ καταπραχθῆναι τὰ γραφέντα καὶ στεφάνους ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι γενέσθαι, τῷ θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους ὡς ἀγαθῶν τούτων ὄντων ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι.

87 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Φίλιππος ὑφ' ὑμῶν 25 ἐξηλάθη, τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις, τῇ δὲ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, καὶ διαρραγῶσί τινες τούτων, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἕτερον κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτειχισμὸν ἐξήτει. ὁρῶν δ' ὅτι

7. After θεάτρῳ Dind. has Διονυσίοις.

8. ἀναγορεύσεως is post-classical Greek.

85. 11. αἰσχύνῃν. Aesch. c. Ct. § 231 Κτησιφῶν δ' ὑμᾶς οἶται δεῖν ἀφελόντας τὴν ἀδοξίαν ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους

περιθεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ.

15. ἐὰν τε . . ἐὰν θ', used for ἐὰν μὲν . . ἐὰν δ', as the stress is not laid on the alternatives, but on the time ὅταν ᾗ νέα καὶ γνώριμα πᾶσι τὰ πράγματα.

17. οὐδὲ, § 13.

of the cities in Euboea, and continues loyal to the people of the Athenians, and says and does whatever good thing he can both on behalf of the Athenians themselves and the other Hellenes, It has been resolved by the people of the Athenians to give a vote of thanks to Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the deme of Paeania, and to crown him with a golden crown and to proclaim the crown in the theatre at the competition of the new dramatists, and that the tribe that has the prytanyship, and the steward of the festival be charged with the proclamation of the crown. Moved by Aristonicus, of the deme Phrearri.

Does any one, then, among your number know of any disgrace having befallen the state on account of this decree, or any mockery or ridicule, things which my opponent just now predicts, should I be crowned? And still further, it is when transactions are fresh and familiar to all, that if they are good they receive gratitude, and if they are otherwise they receive punishment. In this view, it is manifest that I at the time received thanks, and not blame, much less punishment.

During all periods, therefore, down to those in which these transactions took place, it has been acknowledged that I did what was best for the state, in the fact that I prevailed in my speeches and proposals when you were deliberating; in the fact that my proposals were successfully carried out and that crowns in consequence of them accrued to the state, to me and to all; and in the fact that you made sacrifices to the gods and sacred processions under the belief that these were blessings. *Because you know*

So, when Philip had been ejected from Euboea, as far as military force went, by you, but as far as statesmanship and decrees were concerned—though some of my opponents burst with contradiction—by me, he began to look about for another base of operations against the state. Perceiving

68. 19. After πάντας Dind. has τοὺς χρόνους, and ὑμῖν before γενέσθαι.

87. 25. ὑφ' ὑμῶν is placed after τοῖς. μὲν ὅπλοισι by Dind., whose reading avoids the un-Greek chiasmus pre-

sented by Σ: see on § 102.

27. διαπραγῶσι, not 'rumpantur invidia vel indignatione' (Dissen), but 'deny the fact till they burst:' cf. § 21.

σίτῳ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλείστῳ χρώμεθ' ἐπεισάκτῳ,
 βουλόμενος τῆς σιτοπομπίας κύριος γενέσθαι, παρελθὼν
 ἐπὶ Θράκης Βυζαντίους συμμάχους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον ἡξίου συμπολεμεῖν τὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς πόλεμον, ὡς
 δ' οὐκ ἤθελον οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφασαν τὴν συμμαχίαν 5
 πεποιῆσθαι, λέγοντες ἀληθῆ, χάρακα βαλόμενος πρὸς
 88 τῇ πόλει καὶ μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας ἐπολιόρκει. τού-
 των δὲ γιγνομένων ὃ τι μὲν προσῆκε ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐκ
 ἐπερωτήσω· δῆλον γάρ ἐστιν ἅπασιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἦν
 ὁ βοηθήσας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις καὶ σώσας αὐτούς; τίς ὁ 10
 κωλύσας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι κατ' ἐκεί-
 νους τοὺς χρόνους; ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. τὸ δ'
 ὑμεῖς ὅταν λέγω, τὴν πόλιν λέγω. τίς δ' ὁ τῇ πόλει
 λέγων καὶ γράφων καὶ πράττων καὶ ἀπλῶς ἑαυτὸν εἰς
 89 τὰ πράγματα ἀφειδῶς δούς; ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα 15
 ταῦτα ὠφέλησεν ἅπαντας, οὐκέτ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου δεῖ μα-
 θεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ πεπειράσθε· ὁ γὰρ τότε ἐνόστας πόλεμος
 ἄνευ τοῦ καλὴν δόξαν ἐνεγκεῖν ἐν πάσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν
 βίον ἀφθονωτέροις καὶ εὐωνοτέροις διῆγεν ὑμᾶς τῆς νῦν
 εἰρήνης, ἣν οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος τηροῦσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ 20
 ἐπὶ ταῖς μελλούσαις ἐλπίσιν, ὧν διαμάρτοιεν, καὶ μετά-
 σχοιεν ὧν ὑμεῖς οἱ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς

6. χάρακα, literally a 'stake,' here a 'stockade,' equivalent (Harpocr.) to χαράκωμα, which is read by Dissen, etc.

88. 8. For οὐκ ἐπερωτήσω, 'I will not further ask,' Dind. has οὐκέτ' ἐρωτήσω, which may bear the same meaning (cf. § 231 οὐκέτι προστίθῃμι) or may mean 'I will not ask again,' i. e. as he did §§ 63, 64, 66, 69, 71.

12. τὸ δ' ὑμεῖς. For τό introducing a quotation, see § 2 note.

14. ἀπλῶς, 'in a word,' or, much like ἀφειδῶς (which has been thought to be a gloss), 'absolutely.'

ἑαυτὸν . . δούς (Dind. διδούς). Cf. §§ 179, 197, 219, 274.

89. 15. ἀλλὰ μὴν, 'nay more, expressing a stronger transition than καὶ μὴν.' Sh. Fal. Leg. § 92, p. 366.

18. ἐν. Cf. § 256 ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεῖς, 'surrounded with.'

19. τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης κ.τ.λ.

There is an old variant, found in Dissen, etc., which reads μη μετασχοιεν . . μηδὲ μεταδοῖεν κ.τ.λ., and is translated: 'May they never share the blessings which you who wish for what is best ask of the gods, nor make you share in the results of their

that we use imported corn to a greater amount than the rest of the world, and wishing to become master of the corn-convoy, he went along the coast to Thrace, and, at first, required the Byzantines, his allies at that time, to join him in the war against you ; but, when they refused and said they had not made the alliance on those terms, speaking truly, he flung a stockade about their city, and having brought up his artillery commenced 88 the siege. Now I will not go on to ask what it behoved you to have done when these things were taking place ; for that is manifest to all. But who was it that succoured the Byzantines and delivered them ? who was it that prevented the Hellespont from falling into foreign hands during those periods ? You, men of Athens : and when I say ' you ' I mean the state. But who was it that spoke and made proposals and acted for the state, and absolutely and unreservedly devoted himself to the situation ? It was I. Nay more, how largely this benefited all, you 89 need no longer learn from a mere recital, but have had practical experience : for the then urgent war, besides bringing you honourable reputation, carried you through its course with all the conveniences of life about you more plentiful and cheaper than the present peace,—that peace which my worthy opponents uphold to the damage of their country, on the strength of their yet-unrealized hopes, in which may they be disappointed ! and may they take part in the prayers which you who have the noblest aspirations make to the gods, not impart to you their

own policy.' This seems at first sight to be much in Demosthenes' vein ; but will not bear examination. It leaves unexplained and unbinted the nature of the wishes and prayers ; and also mistranslates ὡν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται, which, as Kennedy saw even while adopting the variant, can only mean ' their own principles.'

The superiority of the text, which has better MS. support, is shown by comparison with the parallel passage at the close of the speech. In § 323 οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὗτοι . . τηρεῖν expands the present τῆς νῦν εἰρήνης . . ἐλπίσιν : in § 324 μὴ δῆτ' . . ἐπινεύσειεν reproduces

ὡν διαμάρτοιν, and μάλιστα μὲν . . ἐνθείητε contains the same sentiment as μετὰσχοιν . . αἰτεῖτε. In § 320 τὰ βέλτιστα recurs, meaning, as here, what in § 321 is expressed by τὴν τοῦ γενναίου καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν. In both passages the ideas are the same : the present peace is miserable and dishonourable—it is disloyally upheld by my opponents—may their hopes be vain—may they be brought to a better mind, that is, to share our patriotic aspirations—if they are incurable may they perish before they infect the rest of us.

αἰτεῖτε, μὴ μεταδοῖεν ὑμῖν ὧν αὐτοὶ προήρηνται. Λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων στεφάνους καὶ τοὺς τῶν Περινηθίων, οἷς ἐστεφάνουν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν.

- 90 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΩΝ. [Ἐπὶ ἱερομνάμονος Βοσπορίχῳ Δαμάγητος ἐν τῇ ἀλίᾳ ἔλεξεν, ἐκ τῆς βωλᾶς 5 λαβὼν ῥήτραν. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τε τοῖς προγεγεναμένοις καιροῖς εὐνοέων διατελεῖ Βυζαντίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ συγγενέσι Περινηθίοις καὶ πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχηται, ἐν τε τῷ παρεστακότι καιρῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ Μακεδόνοιο ἐπιστρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν 10 καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐπ' ἀναστάσει Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων καὶ τὰν χώραν δαίοντος καὶ δεινδροκοπέοντος, βοηθήσας πλοίοις ἐκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ σίτῳ καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐξείλετο ἀμὲ ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ ἀποκατέστασε τὰν πάτριον πολιτείαν καὶ τὼς νόμους καὶ τὼς τάφους, 15
- 91 δεδοχθῶ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων Ἀθηναίοις δόμεν ἐπιγαμίαν, πολιτείαν, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκιᾶν, προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι, πόθοδον ποτὶ τὰν βωλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον πρᾶτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, καὶ τοῖς κατοικεῖν ἐθέλουσι τὰν πόλιν ἀλειουργήτοις ἦμεν πασᾶν τὰν λειτουργιᾶν 20 στᾶσαι δὲ καὶ εἰκόνας τρεῖς ἐκκαίδεκαπήχεις ἐν τῷ Βοσπορίῳ, στεφανούμενον τὸν Δᾶμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῷ δάμῳ τῷ Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινηθίων ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ θεωρίας ἐς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πανηγύριος, Ἰσθμια καὶ Νέμεα καὶ Ὀλύμπια καὶ Πύθια, καὶ ἀνακαρῦξαι τὼς στε- 25 φάνους ὡς ἐστεφάνωνται ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων ὑφ' ἡμῶν,

90. 4. Ψήφισμα. The dialectic forms for the most part belong to the purer Doric: ω corresponding to Attic \omicron , Βοσπορίχῳ, Φιλίππῳ, δάμῳ, τῷ, τῶς, ὡς, νόμους, τάφους, στεφάνους—βωλᾶς being peculiar; η to ϵ , ἦμεν (= εἶναι); α for ω , οἰκιᾶν, πασᾶν τὰν λειτουργιᾶν—πρᾶτοις is later Doric; α to original η , ἱερομνάμονος, ἀλίᾳ, τᾶς, τῇ, τὰν, δᾶμος, προγεγεναμένοις, παρεστακότι, ἀποκατέστασε, στᾶσαι, ἔγκτασιν γᾶς, ἀνα-

καρῦξαι, Ἑλλανες. Dind. completes the πλατειασμός with βάτραν, Ἀθηναίων, Ἀθηναίοις, διατελεῖ, κατοικεῖν, ἐκκαίδεκαπήχεις. Add δόμεν (= δοῦναι), πόθοδον ποτὶ (= πρὸς). The true Doric for ἀμὲ is ἄμμε: ἐπιστέωνται is Ionic.

This decree and the next might stand as genuine, but that they are found in bad company.

ἱερομνάμονος. Probably = 'priest of

own principles! Read to them now the grants of crowns from the Byzantines and from the Perinthians, with which those peoples crowned our state in consequence of these services.

DECREE OF THE BYZANTINES.

*In the priesthood of Bosporichus, Damagetus, in the general as- 90
sembly, having received instructions from the council, moved as
follows: Whereas the people of the Athenians has at previous
crises been constantly well-intentioned to the Byzantines and to their
allies and kinsmen the Perinthians, and has afforded them many
great services, and particularly in the present crisis, when Philip
the Macedonian had brought an army against the country and
against the city for the extermination of the Byzantines and the
Perinthians, and was ravaging the country and cutting down the
trees, came to our help with a hundred and twenty vessels and pro-
visions and missiles and heavy infantry, and snatched us out of our
great perils, and reinstated our hereditary constitution and our laws,
and gave us back our tombs, Be it resolved by the people of the 91
Byzantines and Perinthians to give the Athenians the privileges
of intermarriage and citizenship, the right to acquire land and
houses, a chief seat at the games, first access to the council and to
the people after the sacrifices, and to such as wish to settle in our
country the privilege of being totally exempt from all the state
burdens: and to erect also three statues, sixteen cubits high, in the
Bosporium, representing the people of the Athenians receiving a
crown from the people of the Byzantines and Perinthians: and
also to send deputations to all the general gatherings in Hellas,
the Isthian and Nemean and Olympian and Pythian games, and
to proclaim the crowns with which the people of the Athenians has*

Posidon.' So at Argos the year was named from the priestess, Thuc. ii. 2.

5. ἀλίϑ = ἐκκλησία. Cf. the Attic ἡλία.

6. ῥήτραν = προβούλευμα (Müller), or 'permission to speak' (Schaefer).

8. συγγενεσί as colonised from Megara, the μητρόπολις of Byzantium.

12. δενδροκοπέοντος. The trees cut down by an invader would be especially the vines and olives.

91. 16. δεδόχθω. Dind. has δεδόχθαι, which would depend on ἐλεξεν.

20. After πασάν Reiske reads προστακτῶν (=extraordinary) by conjecture from MSS. πρὸς τᾶν.

21. Βοσπορίῳ (Dind. Βοσπορείῳ, Voemel-όρω) is unknown, but possibly is the name of the harbour of Byzantium.

26. ὡς ἐστεφάνωνται. ὡς..οὖς. Dind. has οἷς, cf. οἷς ἐστεφάνουν § 89.

ὅπως ἐπιστέωνται οἱ Ἕλληνας πάντες Ἀθηναίων ἀρετὰν
καὶ τὰν Βυζαντίων καὶ Περινθίων εὐχαριστίαν.]

92 Λέγε καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στεφάνους.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΙΤΩΝ. [Χερρωνησιτῶν οἱ
κατοικοῦντες Σησιτὸν Ἐλεοῦντα Μάδυντον Ἀλωπεκούνησον 5
στεφανοῦσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον χρυσῷ
στεφάνῳ ἀπὸ ταλάντων ἐξήκοντα, καὶ Χάριτος βωμὸν
ιδρύονται καὶ Δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πάντων μεγίστου
ἀγαθῶν παραίτιος γέγονε Χερρωνησίταις, ἐξελόμενος ἐκ
τῆς Φιλίππου καὶ ἀποδοὺς τὰς πατρίδας, τοὺς νόμους, 10
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἐν τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα αἰῶνι
παντὶ οὐκ ἐλλείψει εὐχαριστῶν καὶ ποιῶν ὃ τι ἂν δύνη-
ται ἀγαθόν. ταῦτα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐν τῷ κοινῷ βουλευ-
τηρίῳ.]

93 Οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον τὸ Χερρόνησον καὶ Βυζάντιον σῶσαι, 15
οὐδὲ τὸ κωλύσαι τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὑπὸ Φιλίππῳ γενέ-
σθαι τότε, οὐδὲ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τούτων ἢ
προαίρεσις ἢ ἐμὴ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία διεπράξατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
πᾶσιν ἔδειξεν ἀνθρώποις τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως καλοκαγαθίαν
καὶ τὴν Φιλίππου κακίαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σύμμαχος ὢν 20
τοῖς Βυζαντίοις πολιορκῶν αὐτοὺς ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, οὗ

94 τί γένοιτ' ἂν αἰσχίον ἢ μιαιώτερον; ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ καὶ μεμ-
ψάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ δίκαια ἂν ἐκείνοις εἰκότως περὶ
ᾧ ἡγνωμονήκεσαν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις,
οὐ μόνον οὐ μνησικακοῦντες οὐδὲ προϊέμενοι τοὺς ἀδι- 25
κουμένους ἀλλὰ καὶ σώζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ἐξ ᾧ δόξαν
καὶ εὐνοίαν παρὰ πάντων ἐκτᾶσθε. καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν
πολλοὺς ἐστεφανώκατ' ἤδη τῶν πολιτευομένων, ἅπαν-
τες ἴσασι δι' ὄντινα δ' ἄλλον ἢ πόλιν ἐστεφάνωται,

1. For πάντες Dind. has τάν τε.

92. 7. ταλάντων probably refers to the smaller talent, which was of the value of sixty silver drachmae.

9. ἐκ τῆς Φιλίππου, sc. χειρός. Cf. Aeschin, c. Ct. § 256 ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν . . ἐξελέσθαι τοῦ Φιλίππου.

12. ἐλλείψει, sc. ὁ δῆμος τῶν Χερρο-

been crowned by us, that all the Hellenes may know of an Athenian act of valour and of the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians.

Read also the grant of crowns from the inhabitants of the 92 Chersonese.

DECREE OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE CHERSONESE.

Of the inhabitants of the Chersonese those who dwell in Sestus, Eleus, Madytus, and Alopeconnesus crown the council of the people of the Athenians with a golden crown of the value of sixty talents, and erect an altar dedicated to Thanksgiving and to the Athenian People, because they helped to win the greatest of all blessings for the peoples of the Chersonese, by rescuing us from Philip's hand and giving us back our countries, our laws, our freedom, and our sanctuaries. And in all time to come the Chersonese will not fail in gratitude and in doing whatever good it can. This they decreed in the common council-hall.

Thus, not only the deliverance of the Chersonese and Byzan- 93
tium, not only the prevention of the Hellespont from falling
into Philip's power at that time, not only the receipt of honours
by our country in consequence of these services, was the work
of my policy and my diplomacy, but it also demonstrated to all
men at once the high character of Athens and the baseness of
Philip. For he, on the one hand, was seen by the world, even while bound by treaty to the Byzantines, in the act of besieging them,—and what could be more disgraceful or abandoned than that? On the other hand, you, who might reasonably have re- 94
proached them on many just grounds for their inconsiderate acts towards you in previous periods, revealed yourselves, not only as nursing no grudges nor refusing to let the sufferers perish, but even as their deliverers, for which deed you earned glory and affection from all. And indeed, while every one knows that you have before now crowned many of your statesmen, yet no one can tell through what other man, statesman,

νησιτῶν.

93. 16. οὐδέ, § 2 note.

20. μὲν γάρ. Dind. has μὲν γε, as in

§§ 189, 200.

94. 26. δόξαν καὶ εὐνοίαν. Dind.

has δόξαν, εὐνοίαν, τιμὴν.

σύμβουλον λέγω καὶ ῥήτορα, πλὴν δι' ἐμέ, οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι.

- 95 Ἴνα τοίνυν καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ τῶν Βυζαντίων ἐποιήσατο, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς αὐτοῖς ἐπέπρακτο πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπομιμνήσκων, συκοφαν- 5
τίας οὕσας ἐπιδείξω μὴ μόνον τῷ ψευδεῖς εἶναι (τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν ὑμᾶς εἰδότες ἡγοῦμαι) ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ, εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' ἦσαν ἀληθεῖς, οὕτως ὥς ἐγὼ κέχρημαι τοῖς πράγμασι συμφέρειν χρήσασθαι, ἐν ᾗ δύο βούλομαι τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς πεπραγμένων καλῶν τῇ πόλει διεξελθεῖν, 10
καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν βραχείσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρα ἰδίᾳ καὶ πόλιν κοινῇ πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀεὶ δεῖ πει-
96 ρᾶσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πράττειν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμονίων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατεχόντων ἁρμοσταῖς καὶ 15
φρουραῖς, Εὐβοίαν, Τάναγραν, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν, Μέγαρα, Αἴγιναν, Κλεωνάς, ἀλλας νήσους, οὐ ναῦς, οὐ τεῖχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κτησαμένης, ἐξῆλθετε εἰς Ἀλίαρτον καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον εἰς Κόρινθον, τῶν τότε Ἀθηναίων πόλλ' ἂν ἐχόντων μνησικακῆσαι 20
καὶ Κορινθίοις καὶ Θηβαίοις τῶν περὶ τὸν Δεκελεικὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐποιοῦν τοῦτο, οὐδ'
97 ἐγγύς. καίτοι τότε ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρω, Αἰσχίνῃ, οὐθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργετῶν ἐποιοῦν οὐτ' ἀκίνδυνα ἑώρων. ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ ταῦτα προΐεντο τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ἑαυτούς, 25
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας καὶ τιμῆς ἤθελον τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτοὺς

95. 3. Εὐβοέων. Aeschin. §§ 85, sqq.

4. Βυζαντίων. Nothing is said about the Byzantines in Aeschines' speech as we have it now.

εἰ, § 28 note.

6. τοῦτο μὲν, 'this at any rate,' no δέ or other particle answering the

μέν. This is pretty common with an emphatic pronoun: cf. § 318 ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ κ.τ.λ. Plat. Ap. c. 32, p. 41, etc.

7. ὑπάρχειν εἰδότες, 'await me with the knowledge,' §§ 110, 228, De Rhod. § 1, p. 190 ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκότες μοι δοκεῖτε, c. Mid. § 41, p. 527 ἂν γὰρ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγνωσμένα ὑπάρχη παρ' ὑμῖν.

that is, or orator, the City herself has been crowned, except through me.

In order therefore that I may demonstrate that the libels also, ⁹⁵ which he uttered against the Euboeans and Byzantines, when he jogged your memory with any untoward act which they might have committed against you, were malignant fabrications, not only by the fact that they are false—for I think I may take your knowledge of that for granted—but also by the fact that, if they were as true as they could be, it was nevertheless expedient to deal with the situation exactly as I dealt with it, I wish to relate one or two of the noble actions performed by the state in your time, and to do this in a brief compass. For each man in his private life, and a city in her national life, must always strive to conduct their later policy in the light of their noblest precedents. It was thus that you, men of Athens, at a ⁹⁶ time when the Lacedaemonians were masters of land and sea, and held the districts round Attica in subjection by means of governors and garrisons,—Euboea, Tanagra, all Boeotia, Megara, Aegina, Cleonae, and islands besides,—at a time when your city had acquired neither ships nor walls, marched out to Haliartus, and again, not many days later, to Corinth, though the Athenians of that generation might have been able to revive many grudges both against the Corinthians and against the Thebans for their behaviour in the war at Decerea. But they did not think of doing that or anything like it. And yet at that ⁹⁷ time, in both these actions, Aeschines, they neither fought on behalf of benefactors nor were blind to the danger. They did not however for such reasons suffer to perish those who fled to them for refuge; rather, in the desire of fair fame and honour, they were willing to offer themselves to the perils, a right and honour-

8. τὰ μάλιστα, § 21.

10. καθ' ὑμᾶς, 'in your time:' cf. §§ 317, 318, Aeschin. c. Ct. § 234. The battle of Haliartus, however, occurred B.C. 395, some sixty-five years before this trial.

96. 16. τήν. Dind. has καί. He also reads τὰς before ἄλλας, and οὔτε . .

οὔτε for οὐ . . οὐ.

17. ἄλλας, not 'the other islands,' besides Aegina and Euboea, which rendering the position of Κλεωνάς forbids, but 'the islands besides,' i.e. the Aegean islands. See Shilleto's note on Fals. Leg. § 94, p. 367.

22. οὐδ' ἐγγύς, § 12.

διδόναι, ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς βουλευόμενοι. πέρας μὲν γὰρ ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κὰν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἅπασιν αἰεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅ τι ἂν ὁ θεὸς διδῶ γεν- 5
98 ναίως. ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν οἱ ὑμέτεροι πρόγονοι, ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ φίλους ὄντας οὐδ' εὐεργέτας, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἡδίκηκότας καὶ μεγάλα, ἐπειδὴ Θηβαῖοι κρατήσαντες ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀνελεῖν ἐπεχείρουν, διεκωλύσατε, οὐ φοβηθέντες τὴν τότε 10
Θηβαίοις ῥώμην καὶ δόξαν ὑπάρχουσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οἷα πεπονηκότων ἀνθρώπων κινδυνεύσετε διαλογισάμενοι.
99 καὶ γάρ τοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδείξατε ἐκ τούτων ὅτι κὰν ὅτιοῦν τις εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξαμάρτη, τούτων τὴν ὀργὴν εἰς τᾶλλα ἔχετε, ἂν δ' ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἢ ἐλευθερίας κίνδυνός 15
τις αὐτοὺς καταλαμβάνη, οὔτε μνησικακήσετε οὔθ' ὑπολογιεῖσθε. καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνον οὕτως ἐσχήκατε, ἀλλὰ πάλιν σφετεριζομένων Θηβαίων τὴν Εὐβοίαν οὐ περιείδετε, οὐδ' ὦν ὑπὸ Θεμίσωνος καὶ Θεοδώρου περὶ Ὀρωπὸν ἡδίκησθε ἀνεμνήσθητε, ἀλλ' ἐβοηθήσατε καὶ 20
τούτοις, τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρώτων γενο-
100 μένων τῇ πόλει, ὧν εἷς ἦν ἐγώ. ἀλλ' οὐπω περὶ τούτων. καὶ καλὸν μὲν ἐποιήσατε καὶ τὸ σῶσαι τὴν

97. 2. οἰκίσκῳ is explained by Harpocr. as a 'poultry-house' (ὄρνιθο-τροφεῖον), and so is here rendered by some 'a cage,' or 'dove-cote;' but a more natural sense would be a 'strong-room' or 'cell.' Compare Propertius, iii. 18, 25-6

'Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et aere,

Mors tamen inclusum protrahit inde caput,'

where the image is of 'a chamber of iron or bronze.'

4. προβαλλομένους. The word is

used of 'setting up as a defence,' §§ 195, 300, 301; and the passive is found Fals. Leg. § 30, p. 349 ὑποβεβλημένη [sc. πολιτεία = a guarded policy]. Kennedy, however, prefers to translate 'with good hope before them,' adding the explanation 'proposing to themselves,' 'having before their eyes:' but, even if both renderings were equally supported and appropriate, this would rather require the aorist.

98. 9. ἀνελεῖν, i. e. Λακεδαιμονίους, which, for the sake of emphasis, is

able resolution. For knowing that to all men life is limited by death, yea though one keep himself shut up in a strong room, good men must essay every honourable quest that from time to time appears, holding good hope before them as a buckler, and so must bear courageously whatever be God's dispensation. Thus did your ancestors, thus did you, my elder hearers, who, 98 —although the Lacedaemonians were not your friends or benefactors, but had often grievously wronged our country—yet, when the Thebans after their victory at Leuctra attempted to exterminate them, completely prevented that, undaunted by the strength and prestige then enjoyed by the Thebans and without being careful to calculate what the men had done for whom you were to run the risk. For you showed unmistakably by this to 99 all the Hellenes that, if a nation transgress against you in any degree, you entertain your resentment against them under all other conditions, but, should any danger touching their existence or freedom overtake the transgressors, you will not revive old grudges nor bring up old scores. And not only in their case have you taken this attitude, but yet again, when the Thebans were appropriating Euboea, you did not connive at it, nor did you recall the wrongs which had been done to you by Themiso and Theodorus in the matter of Oropus, but you rescued these also,—this being the first occasion on which the voluntary trierarchs offered themselves to the state, of whom I was one. But of that presently. And while you did a noble act in sim-100 ply delivering the island, you did an act far nobler still, when

laced, rather illogically, before the ἐπειδή.

10. διεκωλύσατε is used absolutely. τὴν . . . ὑπάρχουσαν, § 71 note.

11. οἱ ἀπεποιηκότων, literally 'men who had done what manner of things.'

99. 13. τούτων . . . τὴν ὀργήν, 'anger on account of such wrongs.' Or, better, 'against such offenders,' τούτων referring to τῆς, as αὐτοῖς below, and § 277 Dind. has τούτῳ, 'you are angry with him.'

14. εἰς ἅλλα ἔχετε, 'you entertain

your anger in view of all other circumstances.' Kennedy (less well, seeing that Demosthenes eulogises Athens' generous freedom from μνησικακία) translates 'you reserve your anger against them for other occasions.'

17. ἐσχήκατε. Comp. ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, § 291.

21. τριηράρχων. See § 102 τὸ ναυτικόν note.

100. 23. καί, 'in simply saving.'

νῆσον, πολλῶ δ' ἔτι τούτου κάλλιον τὸ καταστάντες
κύριοι καὶ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἀποδοῦναι
ταῦτα δικαίως αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξημαρτηκόσιν εἰς ὑμᾶς,
μηδὲν ὦν ἡδίκησθε ὑπολογισάμενοι. μυρία τοίνυν
ἕτερα εἰπεῖν ἔχων παραλείπω, ναυμαχίας, ἐξόδους 5
πεζάς, στρατείας καὶ πάλαι γεγонуίας καὶ νῦν ἐφ'
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἃς ἀπάσας ἡ πόλις τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλη-
101 νων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας πεποιήται. εἴτ' ἐγὼ
τεθεωρηκῶς ἐν τοσοῦτοις καὶ τοιούτοις τὴν πόλιν ὑπὲρ
τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφερόντων ἐθέλουσαν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, 10
ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τρόπον τινὰ τῆς βουλῆς οὔσης τί ἔμελλον
κελεύσειν ἢ τί συμβουλεύσειν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν; μνησικα-
κεῖν νῆ Δία πρὸς τοὺς βουλομένους σώζεσθαι, καὶ
προφάσεις ζητεῖν δι' ἃς ἅπαντα προησόμεθα; καὶ τίς
οὐκ ἂν ἀπέκτεινέ με δικαίως, εἴ τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων 15
τῇ πόλει καλῶν λόγῳ μόνον καταισχύνειν ἐπεχείρησα;
ἐπεὶ τό γε ἔργον οὐκ ἂν ἐποιήσαθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀκριβῶς οἶδ'
ἐγώ· εἰ γὰρ ἡβούλεσθε, τί ἦν ἐμποδῶν; οὐκ ἐξῆν;
οὐχ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτ' ἐροῦντες οὗτοι;
102 Βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς ἐπο- 20
λιτευόμεν· καὶ σκοπεῖτε ἐν τούτοις πάλιν αὖ, τί τὸ τῇ

4. μηδέν, not οὐδέν, as the infinitival construction τὸ . . ἀποδοῦναι still continues.

Before ὑπολογισάμενοι Dind. has ἐν οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε, literally 'as regards the matters in which you were trusted,' i.e. 'in the performance of your trust.'

7. τῆς . . ἐλευθερίας. ἔνεκα is found, but the authority of MSS. is against it. The use of the genitive to express motive, or purpose, without the support of a preposition, is very rare, except in the case of τοῦ μή with an infinitive (as § 107): compare the use of τοῦ = 'therefore,' Hom. Od. xxiv. 425, εὐχολῆς ἐπιμέμφεται Iliad

i. 65, etc., Κύκλωπος κεχόλωται Od. i. 69, τοῦ ὄγε δακρυχέων ii. 24, τῶν πάντων οὐ τόσσον δδύρομαι iv. 104, ἀγγελίης ἐλθεῖν Il. iii. 205, xiii. 252, xv. 640, Soph. Ant. 1177, Oed. Tyr. 233. Tacitus uses the genitive of the gerundive to express purpose.

101. 8. εἴτ' § 22 note.

11. τρόπον τινά, § 43. Compare Aristot. Pol. iii. 13 ὁ γὰρ ὁστρακισμὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν τρόπον τινὰ τῷ κολοῦν τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας καὶ φυγαδεύειν.

13. νῆ Δία is used to anticipate the words of an adversary, and is to be rendered by some phrase such as 'let

you were established in complete possession both of their persons and of their cities, in restoring these scrupulously to the very men who had transgressed against you, reckoning up none of the wrongs you had received. Therefore, though I could quote ten thousand other examples, I pass them over,—fights by sea, expeditions by land, armaments both of ancient date and lately in our own time,—all of which the city undertook on behalf of the freedom and existence of the rest of the Hellenes. This being so, after I had beheld my country on occasions so many and so formidable willing to struggle for the interests of the rest, now, when the question virtually concerned herself, what was I likely to urge or counsel her to do? To bear grudges, you would say, against those who called for deliverance, and seek pretexts to justify us in sacrificing everything. But who would not have justly slain me, had I attempted by word only to tarnish one of the city's bright precedents? I say, by word only: for the deed you would not have done, I know for certain. Had you so wished, what was there to prevent you? Was it not open? Had you not prompters to this course ready by you in my opponents?

I wish therefore to go back to those political acts of mine which came immediately after this; and I beg you here again to observe what was the best for the state. When I saw your

us suppose,' 'it will be suggested.' A good example is c. Mid. § 41, p. 527 *τίς ἀνθρωπίνη καὶ μετρία σκῆψις φανέται τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ; ὀργή νῆ Δία· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τυχὸν λέγει.* Compare Fals. Leg. § 245, p. 410 *συκοφαντῶ νῆ Δία*, 'it will be said I come forward as an informer.' So ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία Fals. Leg. § 174, p. 390, 'but it will be said,' (like the Latin *at enim*): In νῆ Δί' ἀλλά, 'yes but, it will be argued,' the ἀλλά belongs to the coming argument, not, as in ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία, to this merely introductory phrase: see § 117 νῆ Δί' ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα 'yes, but, it will be argued, I was guilty of malpractice in my office,' and Fals. Leg. § 309, p. 428 (see

Shilleto). In all cases it is better not to employ the sign of the interrogative, which is not wanted. Dind. removes it here, but retains it § 117.

14. καὶ τίς, 'but who.' καὶ preceding an interrogative pronoun or adverb is always adversative.

16. ἐπεχείρησα. ἄν is read by Voemel, with good MS. authority, but the construction requires further exemplification.

17. ἐπεὶ = 'I say in word only, for,' etc. For the ellipse v. § 12 οὐ γάρ note.

102. Aeschines, c. Ct. § 222, declares that Demosthenes, by his conduct as ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, deprived the fleet of sixty-five *τριήραχοι*.

πόλει βέλτιστον ἦν. ὁρῶν γὰρ ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ ναυτικὸν ὑμῶν καταλυόμενον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσίους ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ μέτρια ἢ μικρὰ κεκτημένους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπολλύοντας, ἔτι δ' ὑστερίζουσαν ἐκ τούτων τὴν πόλιν 5 τῶν καιρῶν, ἔθηκα νόμον καθ' ὃν μὲν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἡνάγκασα τοὺς πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ πένητας ἔπανσ' ἀδικουμένους, τῇ πόλει δ' ὅπερ ἦν χρησιμώτατον, ἐν 103 καιρῷ γίγνεσθαι τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐποίησα. καὶ γραφεῖς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσῆλθον καὶ ἀπέ- 10

2. τὸ ναυτικόν. After the Persian war, the policy which may be identified with Themistocles vastly increased the maritime power of Athens; and the old plan of ναυκραΐαι, or tribal subdivisions, each furnishing a galley, was superseded by the system of τριήραρχοι. These were wealthy citizens, nominated to serve by the στρατηγοί. Their service lasted one year, during which, and for the two following years, they were released from payment (ἀτελεῖς) of all other state burdens (λείτουργίαι). Each received from the state an unrigged hulk (ναὺς κενή), and some ship's-furniture, together with regulation pay for a ship's company. He was required to collect a crew, to do which he might have to offer bounties (προδόσεις); to equip the vessel thoroughly; and to keep and return it, with all stores, in good condition. If he failed in his duty he might be imprisoned by the board of ten officers whose duty it was to dispatch the fleet (ἐδέθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολέων): but for generous and active service might receive the 'trierarchic crown.' At the end of his term every trierarch was liable to audit and scrutiny (ὑπεῖθυνος). The ordinary expense of the office was forty to sixty minae.

A man charged with the office might escape if he could prove that he was without means (ἀδύνατος); or might appeal for relief, by laying a suppliant's bough (ἱκετηρία), on the

altar in the Πνύξ, the meeting-place of the ἐκκλησία, or by taking sanctuary (ἐκαθέζετο) in the temple of Artemis in the port of Munychia: or he might challenge some qualified person, not so charged, either to take the duty in his stead or else submit to a complete exchange of property (ἀντίδοσις).

At some period, probably about B.C. 412, it became allowable for two citizens to divide the duty of trierarch between them (συντριήραρχοι, cf. συγχόρηγοι).

When Athens was finally defeated in the Peloponnesian war, her fleet was reduced to twelve sail, and seems to have recovered but slowly. The sudden resolution adopted in 358 B.C. to send help to Euboea, called forth the voluntary trierarchs (§ 99 τῶν ἐθελοντῶν τότε τριηράρχων πρῶτον γενομένων τῇ πόλει), and also revealed the insufficiency of the existing system. The same year a reform was made by the law of Periander, which assimilated the τριηραρχία to the εἰσφορά, or extraordinary war-tax levied on property. By this law 1200 of the richer citizens were appointed to bear the charges (συντελεῖς), in twenty companies (συμμορφαί) of sixty members, and these were severally subdivided into four associations (συντέλειαι), each consisting generally of fifteen persons, and charged with one trireme. It is to be noted, however, that the συντέλειαι seem to have differed in the number of their members. We hear of

navy, men of Athens, in a state of decay, and the rich becoming exempt from taxation after trifling outlays, while those citizens who possessed moderate or small means were losing what they had, and when I saw still further that through this state of things the city missed her opportunities, I proposed a law, in accordance with which I compelled the former, the rich, to do their duty, and put a stop to the oppression of the poor, and, what was in the highest degree serviceable to the country, I caused her preparations to be ready at the hour of need. And when I was indicted I appeared before you on this issue 103 and was acquitted; and my prosecutor did not receive his

four or five citizens constituting a trierarchy: and Demosthenes, § 104, gives the number as sixteen. (If the last were the regular or average number at the time of which he speaks, the total of *συντελείς* must have been raised to 1280.) There was also a cross-division. The 300 wealthiest *συντελείς* were called *ἡγεμόνες τῶν συμμοριῶν* § 103, and held the whole management of the *λειτουργία*: the next 300 in order of wealth were called *οἱ δεύτεροι*, and the third 300 *οἱ τρίτοι*: while the remainder of the poorer order formed a fourth class without a special name.

Each *συντέλεια* nominated one of its members (probably one of the *ἡγεμόνες*) to serve in person, and all bore equal shares in the expense of the vessel. The richer member or members had, if need be, to advance the funds and recover from their fellows. This seems to have opened the way to an abuse. The *ἡγεμόνες* would contract for the performance of the whole *τριηραρχία* at the expense say of a talent, and getting this sum, or nearly as much, in repayment from other members of their association, would escape with little or no ultimate cost to themselves. These contracts also led to insufficient equipments. In other cases a poor association would be backward in executing its duty, or wholly unable to do so.

These, and perhaps other evils, soon showed themselves. In 345 B.C. Demosthenes proposed corrective mea-

sures, in his speech *de Symmoriis*; and it is curious that he does not refer to them here. Probably they were not adopted. However, when administrator of the navy (*ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ*) in B.C. 340, he reformed the old system altogether. A certain portion (from one-fifth, if a property were large, to one tenth, if small—supposing the descending scale fixed by Nausinicus B.C. 379 to be still in force) of each man's property, after assessment (*τίμησις*) was set down as the rateable value (*τίμημα*). On a rateable value of ten talents fell the charge of one trireme. Smaller properties were grouped together till their united rateable value reached this sum, and were then proportionately charged—thus forming a new sort of *συντέλεια*. The charge on no single property might exceed three triremes and a tender.

Demosthenes does not say whether his trierarchic law was, or was not, still in operation at the time of this trial.

5. *ἀπολλύντας*. Dind. has *τὰ ὄντα ἀπολλύντας*. If we keep the text we must supply an object to *ἀπολλύντας*.

6. *καθ' ὃν μὲν*. This reading must be corrupt. It introduces a chiasmus, which is un-Demosthenian (see on § 324), and in doing so misplaces *μὲν*. The reading of Dind. *καθ' ὃν τοὺς μὲν* is quite satisfactory, *τοὺς πλουσίους* being in apposition.

103. 10. *τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον* must be taken with *εἰσῆλθον*, 'I came into

φυγον, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων ὁ διώκων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. καίτοι πόσα χρήματα τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν συμμοριῶν ἢ τοὺς δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους οἷεσθ' ἐμοὶ διδόναι, ὥστε μάλιστα μὲν μὴ θείναι τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, εἰ δὲ μή, καταβάλλοντα ἔαν ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ; τοσαῦτ' ὧ ἄνδρες 5
 104 Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ὀκνήσαιμ' ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως ἔπραττον ἐκείνοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ μὲν τῶν προτέρων νόμων συνεκκαίδεκα λειτουρῶν, αὐτοῖς μὲν μικρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀναλίσκουσι, τοὺς δ' ἀπόρους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιτρίβουσιν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου 10
 τὸ γιγνόμενον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἕκαστον τιθέναι, καὶ δυοῖν ἐφάνη τριήραρχος ὁ τῆς μιᾶς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος πρότερον συντελής· οὐδὲ γὰρ τριηράρχους ἔτι ὠνόμαζον ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ συντελεῖς. ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἀναγκασθῆναι, οὐκ ἔσθ' ὃ τι οὐκ 15
 105 ἐδίδοσαν. Καί μοι λέγε πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ψήφισμα καθ' ὃ εἰσῆλθον τὴν γραφήν, εἴτα τοὺς καταλόγους, τὸν τ' ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμου καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸν ἐμόν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Πολυκλέους, μηνὸς βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἴππο- 20
 θωωντίδος, Δημοσθένους Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς εἰσήνεγκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ πρότερον, καθ' ὃν αἱ συντέλειαι ἦσαν τῶν τριηράρχων· καὶ ἐπεχειρό-
 τόνησεν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος· καὶ ἀπήνεγκε παρανόμων

court as defendant in a suit on this account.'

1. τὸ μέρος, sc. τὸ πέμπτον.

5. καταβάλλοντα (Dind. καταβαλόντα) has been taken closely with ἔαν, 'to drop and let alone the law.' A better meaning is to be obtained from the aorist: 'having entered the law' [in the temple of Cybele, ἐν τῷ Μητρώῳ, where the archives were kept] 'to let it lie.' Cf. εἰς τὰ δημόσια γράμματα καταβάλλεσθαι § 55.

ἐν ὑπωμοσίᾳ = under the suspen-

sion caused by a threatened prosecution.

The proposer of a decree was, for a year after it was passed, open to an indictment for breach of the constitution, which, if laid, must be tried before the decree became valid. Hence, if a man repented of his decree, or was won over by its opponents, by collusion with any one who would swear to a declaration (ὑπωμοσία) that he intended to prefer a γραφή παρανόμων against the proposer, and by

minimum of the votes. And yet, what sums of money do you fancy that the first class of the companies or the second and third class offered me, to induce me, best of all, not to propose this law, or, refusing that, to register the law and leave it dormant under an affidavit? Sums so great, men of Athens, that I should hesitate to name them to you. And they entered on this negotiation with good reason. For while it was competent for them in accordance with the former laws to perform the public service in bodies of sixteen, privately spending little or nothing, but grinding down the needy citizens, in accordance with my law it was necessary for each to pay the amount arrived at by assessment of his property, and a man was found to bear the charge of two ships who previously had been a contributor with fifteen others to the one ship. I say contributor, for they no longer called themselves trierarchs but contributors. So, to have my measures quashed and to be uncompelled to perform their duty, there was nothing they did not offer to me. Please read me, first the decree in accordance with which I came into court to meet the indictment, next the schedules, both the one attached to the former law and that which resulted from my law. Read.

A DECREE.

In the archonship of Polycles, on the sixteenth day of the month Boëdromion, in the prytanyship of the tribe Hippothöontis, Demosthenes, the son of Demosthenes, of the deme Paeania, introduced a law for the constitution of the body of trierarchs to replace the former law in accordance with which the contributory associations of trierarchs existed. And the council and the people voted the new law; and Patrocles, of the deme Phlyes, preferred an indictment for breach of the constitution against

allowing the trial to be indefinitely postponed, he could suspend and practically rescind his measure.

104. 9. μικρὰ καὶ οὐδέν, 'little or nothing.' Cf. χθές... καὶ πρῶην § 130.

11. τὸ γυγνόμενον is used of the result of a sum. The sum to be performed was the assessment of each man's property, the ascertainment of the proportion of the property which was to be considered as its rateable value, and the imposition of the charge

which fell on that rateable value.

πιθῆναι. Supply ἔδει from ἦν, and cf. § 13 note.

105. 16. ψήφισμα. The name of the archon is wrongly stated in this document, which is not a decree at all, but a mere memorandum.

20. ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα. Cf. § 37 note.

22. εἰς τό is found in all MSS. but one, and is omitted by Dind. in accordance with the conjecture of Bekker.

24. παρανόμων, sc. γραφῆν.

Δημοσθένει Πατροκλῆς Φλυεύς, καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐ λαβὼν ἀπέτισε τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.]

106 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὸν καλὸν κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ. [Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκαίδεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντε- 5 λειῶν, ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταράκοντα, ἐπὶ ἵσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους.]

Φέρε δὴ παρὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ νόμου κατάλογον.

ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ. [Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν 10 τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἔαν δὲ πλειόνων ἢ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ἢ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἢ λειτουργίας ἔστω. κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων, εἰς 15 συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.]

107 Ἄρα μικρὰ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς πένησιν ὑμῶν δοκῶ, ἣ μικρὰ ἀναλῶσαι ἂν τοῦ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλῃν οἱ πλούσιοι; οὐ τοίνυν μόνον τῷ μὴ καθυφεῖναι ταῦτα σεμνύνομαι, οὐδὲ τῷ γραφεῖς ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ 20 συμφέροντα θεῖναι τὸν νόμον καὶ τῷ πείραν ἔργῳ δεδωκέναι. πάντα γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τῶν ἀποστόλων γιγνομένων κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν ἐμὸν οὐχ ἰκετηρίαν ἔθηκε τριηράρχος οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἀδικούμενος παρ' ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἐν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐκαθέζετο, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστολῶν 25 ἐδέθη, οὐ τριήρης οὗτ' ἔξω καταλειφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὗτ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι.

108 καίτοι κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους νόμους ἅπαντα ταῦτα

2. τὰς πεντακοσίας. The full fine for bringing forward an unsuccessful γράφή was 1000 drachmae, but the amount might be, and generally was, reduced to a sum fixed by the dicasts.

106. 5. λόχοις = συμμορίαῖς. Voemel, however, has συντελῶν for συντελειῶν.

13. ἀναλογισμὸν is not found elsewhere in this sense.

Demosthenes, and having failed to receive his necessary proportion of the votes paid the assessed penalty of five hundred drachmae.

Produce therefore that noble schedule also.

106

SCHEDULE.

That the trierarchs be summoned to the charge of each trireme in bodies of sixteen from the contributory associations in the companies, from the age of five and twenty to that of forty years, furnishing the supplies in equal shares.

Now produce, in contrast to this, the schedule attached to my law.

SCHEDULE.

That the trierarchs be chosen for each trireme on a standard of property ascertained by assessment, beginning with a rateable value of ten talents; and if a property have been assessed at a larger sum, that the charge be increased proportionately, up to a maximum burden of three vessels and a tender. And according to the same proportion let the charge fall also on those whose property is less than the ten talents, they being grouped into a contributory association whose joint assessment reaches the ten talents.

Do you think that I gave but little assistance to the poor ¹⁰⁷ among you, or that the rich would be willing to spend but little to escape doing their duty? Not only then do I pride myself on the fact that I did not strangle my measure, nor only on the fact that when indicted I was acquitted, but also because I proposed a beneficial law and have given you proof of it in practice. For while the naval squadrons were despatched during the whole course of the war in accordance with my law, no trierarch to this day deposited the suppliant's branch on the altar in your midst as being unjustly treated, or took sanctuary in the temple of Artemis Munychia, or was thrown into prison by the Board of Despatch; and no trireme was lost to the state by having been abandoned on the high seas, or was left behind in harbour as unseaworthy; and yet all ¹⁰⁸

ζως in this use is Alexandrine.

107. 18. τοῦ μή, § 100 note.

20. οὐδέ, § 2 note.

21. πείραν, § 195 note.

24. παρ' ὑμῖν, 'in your assembly,' i.e. on the altar in the Pnyx.

26. καταλειφθεῖσα. Dind. has καταληφθεῖσα, 'captured.'

- ἐγίγνετο. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, ἐν τοῖς πένησιν ἦν τὸ λειτουργεῖν· πολλὰ δὲ τὰ ἀδύνατα συνέβαινε. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων εἰς τοὺς εὐπόρους μετήνεγκα τὰς τριηραρχίας· πάντ' οὖν τὰ δέοντα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἄξιός εἰμι ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, ὅτι 5 πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα προηρούμην πολιτεύματα, ἀφ' ὧν ἅμα δόξαι καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις συνέβαινον τῇ πόλει, βάσκανον δὲ καὶ πικρὸν καὶ κακόηθες οὐδέν ἐστι πολίτευμα ἐμόν, οὐδὲ ταπεινόν, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως
- 109 ἀνάξιον. ταῦτ' οἱνοῦν ἦθος ἔχων ἔν τε τοῖς κατὰ τὴν 10 πόλιν πολιτεύμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς φανήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰς παρὰ τῶν πλουσίων χάριτας μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δίκαια εἰλόμην, οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς τὰ Φιλίππου δῶρα καὶ τὴν ξενίαν ἡγάπησα ἀντὶ τῶν κοινῇ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων. 15
- 110 Ἦγοῦμαι τοῖνον λοιπὸν εἶναί μοι περὶ τοῦ κηρύγματος εἰπεῖν καὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ ὥς τὰ ἄριστα 20 τε ἔπραττον καὶ διὰ παντὸς εὔνους εἰμι καὶ πρόθυμος εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δεδηλώσθαι μοι νομίζω. καίτοι τὰ μέγιστα γε τῶν πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων ἐμαυτῷ παραλείπω, ὑπολαμβάνων πρῶτον μὲν ἐφεξῆς τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ παρανόμου λόγους ἀποδοῦναί με δεῖν, εἴτα, κὰν μηδὲν εἴπω περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πολιτευμάτων, ὁμοίως παρ' ὑμῶν 25 ἐκάστω τὸ συνειδὸς ὑπάρχειν μοι.
- 111 Τῶν μὲν οὖν λόγων, οὓς οὗτος ἄνω καὶ κάτω διακυκλῶν ἔλεγε περὶ τῶν παραγεγραμμένων νόμων,

108. 1. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, 'as for the cause,' is probably accusative: cf. De Chers. § 32, p. 97 αἴτιον δὲ τούτων . . παρεσκευάσασιν ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ.

2. τὰ ἀδύνατα might be referred to the technical sense of ἀδύνατος, i. e.

incapacity to pay the λειτουργία: but a better opposition to πάντα.. ἐγίγνετο is obtained by rendering as above.

5. κατ' αὐτό, § 9 note.

110. 20. πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πεπραγμένων, § 13 note.

these things occurred under the former laws. The reason was that the public burdens rested on the poor; and therefore many dead-locks came about. But I transferred the duty of trierarch from the needy to the affluent; thus all that was necessary got done. And still further, I claim to receive praise for this simple reason, that I chose on principle all such political measures as have brought increase at once of reputation, of honour and of power to the state; and no measure of mine is malignant or bitter or evil-minded; no, nor mean nor unworthy of the state. I shall therefore be shown to have **109** maintained the same character both in my home measures and in my Hellenic policy: for at home I never chose the favours of the rich in preference to the rights of the many, and in my Hellenic policy I never esteemed Philip's gifts and 'guest-friendship' above the international interest of all the Hellenes.

I apprehend then that it remains for me to speak about the **110** proclamation and the scrutiny; for the proposition that I did what was best and have continued throughout loyal and zealous to serve you, I think I have sufficiently demonstrated by what I have said above. And yet I leave unnamed the greatest of my political achievements, because I conceive, first, that I must in strict order tender my arguments directly concerning the breach of the constitution; and, secondly, that even if I say nothing at present about the rest of my measures of state, nevertheless a common knowledge of them in the mind of each of you is ready to support me.

Of the verbiage, then, which he promiscuously dished up **111** and delivered on the subject of his counter-display of laws, I

21. παραλείπω here = 'leave over for the present,' as the statement is made below, not as in § 101, 'omit to state.'

22. περὶ αὐτοῦ, § 9 note.

24. ὁμοίως .. ὑπάρχειν μοι, § 95 note.

111. 27. παραγεγραμμένων is explained by Aeschines, § 199 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ, ὅταν εἰδέναι βουλόμεθα τὸ ὄρθον καὶ τὸ μή, τὸν κανόνα προσφέρομεν ᾧ διαγιγνώσκεται, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς τῶν παρανόμων παράκειται

οὔτε μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οἶμαι ὑμᾶς μανθάνειν οὔτ' αὐ-
 τὸς ἡδυνάμην συνεῖναι τοὺς πολλοὺς· ἀπλῶς δὲ
 τὴν ὀρθὴν περὶ τῶν δικαίων διαλέξομαι. τοσούτου
 γὰρ δέω λέγειν ὥς οὐκ εἰμὶ ὑπεύθυνος, ὃ νῦν οὗτος
 διέβαλλε καὶ διωρίζετο, ὥσθ' ἅπαντα τὸν βίον ὑπεύ- 5
 θυνος εἶναι ὁμολογῶ ὧν ἡ διακεχείρικα ἢ πεπολί-
 112 τευμαι παρ' ὑμῖν. ὧν μέντοι γε ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας
 ἐπαγγειλάμενος δέδωκα τῷ δήμῳ, οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν
 ὑπεύθυνος εἶναί φημι (ἀκούεις Αἰσχίνη;) οὐδ' ἄλλον
 οὐδένα, οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων τις ὧν τύχη. τίς 10
 γάρ ἐστι νόμος τοσαύτης ἀδικίας καὶ μισανθρωπίας
 μεστός, ὥστε τὸν δόντα τι τῶν ἰδίων καὶ ποιήσαντα
 πρᾶγμα φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόδωρον τῆς χάριτος μὲν
 ἀποστερεῖν, εἰς τοὺς συκοφάντας δὲ ἄγειν, καὶ τούτους
 ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθύνas ὧν ἔδωκεν ἐφιστάναι; οὐδὲ εἷς. εἰ 15
 δέ φησιν οὗτος, δειξάτω, κἀγὼ στέρξω καὶ σιωπήσομαι.
 113 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὗτος συκο-
 φαντῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ τότε ὧν ἐπέδωκα τὰ χρή-
 ματα, ἐπήνεσεν αὐτόν φησιν ὑπεύθυνον ὄντα. οὐ περὶ
 τούτων γε οὐδενός, ὧν ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς 20
 ἐπέδωκα, ᾧ συκοφάντα. ἀλλὰ καὶ τειχοποιδὸς ἦσθα.
 καὶ διὰ γε τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἐπηνούμην, ὅτι τὰνηλωμένα —
 ἔδωκα καὶ οὐκ ἐλογιζόμην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ λογισμὸς εὐ-
 θυνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξετασόντων προσδεῖται, ἢ δὲ δωρεὰ
 χάριτος καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαία ἐστὶ τυγχάνειν· διόπερ 25

κανὼν τοῦ δικαίου τουτὶ τὸ σανίδιον, καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ οἱ παραγεγραμμένοι νόμοι. ταῦτα συμφωνοῦντα ἀλλήλοις ἐπιδείξας κατάβαινε. The laws alleged to have been violated were written out, side by side with the indicted decree, on a board which was to be produced in court.

3. τὴν ὀρθήν, sc. δδόν, cf. § 15.

4. ὃ νῦν κ.τ.λ. Aesch. c. Ct. § 17.

5. διωρίζετο, § 40 note.

6. διακεχείρικα is specially used of handling state moneys: cf. Aesch. c. Ct. § 30 τὰ δημόσια χρήματα διαχειρίζειν.

112. 8. ἐπαγγειλάμενος. When the national accounts showed a deficit the *πρωτάνεις* summoned an assembly and called for voluntary contributions (ἐπιδόσεις § 171). Those who were

believe before heaven that you did not understand, as I could not comprehend, the greater part. But I will simply discuss the legal points in a straightforward manner. For I am so far from saying that I am not subject to scrutiny, as my opponent just now calumniously affirmed, that I confess myself to be liable to scrutiny during the whole of my life both for the moneys I have handled and the measures I have proposed in your midst. None the less, for what I promised and gave 112 to the people out of my private property I declare that I am not for a single day subject to scrutiny—you hear, Aeschines?—and that no one else is, even should he happen to be one of the nine archons. For what law is full of such monstrous injustice and churlishness, as first to rob one who has given away part of his own substance, and has performed a benevolent and munificent action, of his meed of gratitude, and then bring him before the common informers and set them to conduct the scrutiny into his gifts? There is no such law: and if my opponent says there is, let him produce it, and I will be content and will hold my peace. There is however no 113 such law, men of Athens; but my opponent cavils, and, because I was manager of the theoric fund, at the time when I gave the money, says, ‘The council gave him a vote of thanks while he was yet an accountable officer.’ No, caviller, they did not praise me for any of the things for which I was accountable, but for my free gifts. An objector may say, ‘You were conservator of the walls.’ Yes, and I was rightly praised for this reason, that I made a present of the moneys I had spent and did not enter them into my accounts. For while the presentation of accounts has further need of scrutiny and examiners, a free gift should rightly meet with thanks and praise. Therefore my client made this proposal about me.

willing to give rose from their seats and formally promised subscriptions, the amounts of which were stated and registered against their names. This proceeding was called *ἐπαγγελία*. Those who could not, or would not, subscribe, either kept their seats or, like the *ἀνελεύθερος* in Theophrastus, slipped away.

14. εἰς τοὺς συγκοφάντας δὲ ἄγειν is

intended to suggest the phrase *εἰς τοὺς λογιστὰς ἄγειν*, used of sending an ex-magistrate before the board of auditors in order to pass the scrutiny into his official conduct (*εὐθύνη*) to which every Athenian officer, high or low, was subject (*ὑπεύθυνος*). Cf. Aesch. c. Ct. § 15 sqq.

113. 19. Before *ὑπεύθυνον* Dind. has ἡ βουλῇ, and after *ῆσθα* adds *φησι*.

*Aregeon
Law*

- 114 ταῦτ' ἔγραψεν ὁδὶ περὶ ἑμοῦ. ὅτι δ' οὕτω ταῦτα οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὥρισται, ἐγὼ ῥαδίως πολλαχόθεν δείξω. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Ναυσικλῆς στρατηγῶν, ἐφ' οἷς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων προεῖτο, πολλάκις ἐστεφάνωται ὑφ' ὑμῶν· εἶθ' ὅτε τὰς 5 ἀσπίδας Διότιμος ἔδωκε καὶ πάλιν Χαρίδημος, ἐστεφανοῦντο· εἶθ' οὗτος Νεοπτόλεμος πολλῶν ἔργων ἐπιστάτης ὢν, ἐφ' οἷς ἐπέδωκε, τετίμηται. σχέτλιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε, εἰ τῷ τινα ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι ἢ διδόναι τῇ πόλει τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἐξέσται, 10 ἢ τῶν δοθέντων ἀντὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι χάριν εὐθύνας ὑφέξει. "Ὅτι τοίνυν ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, λέγε τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι τὰ τούτοις γεγεννημένα αὐτὰ λαβὼν. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

15

[Ἄρχων Δημόνικος Φλυεύς, βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη μετ' εἰκάδα, γνώμη βουλῆς καὶ δήμον, Καλλίας Φρεάρριος εἶπεν ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ στεφανῶσαι Ναυσικλέα τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν δισχιλίῳν ὄντων ἐν Ἰμβρῷ καὶ βοηθούτων τοῖς κατοικου- 20 κούσιν Ἀθηναίων τὴν νῆσον, οὐ δυναμένου Φίλωνος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως κεχειροτονημένου διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας πλεῦσαι καὶ μισθοδοτῆσαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἔδωκε καὶ οὐκ εἰσέπραξε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς. 25

- 116 ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Εἶπε Καλλίας Φρεάρριος, πρυτάνεων λεγόντων βουλῆς γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Χαρίδημος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀποσταλὴς εἰς Σαλαμίνα, καὶ Διό-

1. δδῖ, Ctesiphon.

114. 2. ἤθεσιν. Dind. has ἔθεσιν both here and in § 275. But, although the combination of 'laws and customs' is a commoner thought, the combination 'of your written statutes and your moral natures' is quite intelligible, is

Greek (cf. Soph. Antig. 454, etc.), and has the advantage of the best MS. authority.

5. ὅτε is better than the variant ὅτι, the point being that Diotimus was ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, and hence ὑπεύθυνος, at the time when the crown was voted him.

And that this question has been so settled, not only in your ¹¹⁴ laws, but in your own hearts, I will easily show from many instances. In the first place, Nausicles, during his generalship, has been often crowned by you for what he sacrificed out of his personal property. Next, when Diotimus gave the shields and Charidemus did the same again, they were crowned. Next, Neoptolemus, who is now present, though overseer of many public works, has received honours on account of his donations. For it indeed would be hard, if the holder of any office should either be prevented by his office from giving his own property to the state, or should undergo a scrutiny into his gifts instead of reaping gratitude. To prove therefore that ¹¹⁵ I state these cases truly, [*to the clerk*] simply take and read the decrees that were passed in honour of these men. Please read.

DECREES.

In the archonship of Demonicus, of the deme Phlyes, on the sixteenth of the month Boëdromion, by a resolution of the council and people, Callias, of the deme Phrearri, moved, That it seems good to the council and people to crown Nausicles, the commander of the heavy infantry, because, when two thousand Athenian heavy-armed troops were in Imbros and were giving aid to the Athenians who inhabited the island, seeing that Philo, who had been elected minister of finance, was unable, owing to the storms, to sail and pay the troops, he gave them money out of his own private property, and did not require it of the people: and to proclaim the crown at the festival of Dionysus when the new dramatists contend.

ANOTHER DECREE.

116

It was moved by Callias, of the deme Phrearri, when the prytanes spoke according to a resolution of the council, Whereas Charidemus, commander of the heavy-armed, being commissioned to Salamis, and Diotimus, commander of the cavalry, seeing that

8. σχέτλιον .. τοῦτό γε, § 2.

115. 13. τοῦτοις, cf. μοι § 118.

αὐτά, § 126 note.

15. ψήφισμα. The archon is again 'pseudonymus,' and it is unusual to add the title of his deme; while ἀρ-

χων wants construction.

19. τὸν .. ὄπλων, τοῦ .. διοικήσεως, § 38.

25. τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς, § 54 note.

116. 27. λεγόντων seems equivalent to χρηματιζόντων § 75.

τιμος ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μάχῃ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων σκυλευθέντων, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων καθόπλισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους ἀσπίσιν ὀκτακοσίαις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ στεφανῶσαι Χαρίδημον καὶ Διότιμον χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, 5 καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι Παναθηναίοις τοῖς μεγάλοις ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι θεσμοθέτας, πρυτάνεις, ἀγωνοθέτας.]

117 Τούτων ἕκαστος, Αἰσχίνη, τῆς μὲν ἀρχῆς ἧς ἦρχεν 10 ὑπεύθυνος ἦν, ἐφ' οἷς δ' ἔστεφανοῦτο, οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος. οὐκοῦν οὐδ' ἐγώ· ταῦτά γὰρ δίκαιά ἐστί μοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις δήπου. ἐπέδωκα; ἐπαινοῦμαι διὰ ταῦτα, οὐκ ὦν ὦν ἔδωκα ὑπεύθυνος. ἦρχον; καὶ δέδωκά γε εὐθύνας ἐκείνων, οὐχ ὦν ἐπέδωκα. νῆ Δί', 15 ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἦρξα; εἴτα παρών, ὅτε με εἰσῆγον οἱ λογισταί, οὐ κατηγόρεις;

118 "Ἰνα τοίνυν ἴδητε ὅτι αὐτὸς οὗτός μοι μαρτυρεῖ ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος ἦν ἔστεφανῶσθαι, λαβὼν ἀνάγνωθι τὸ ψήφισμα ὅλον τὸ γραφέν μοι. οἷς γὰρ οὐκ ἐγρά- 20 ψατο τοῦ προβουλεύματος, τούτοις, ἃ διώκει, συκοφαντῶν φανήσεται. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐθυκλέους, πυναν-
σιῶνος ἐνάτῃ ἀπιόντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Οἰνηίδος,
Κτησιφῶν Λεωσθένους Ἀναφλύστιος εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Δη- 25
μοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς γενόμενος ἐπιμελητῆς
τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς καὶ προσαναλώσας εἰς τὰ ἔργα

117. 13. ἐπέδωκα; ἐπαινοῦμαι κ.τ.λ. For the asyndeton cf. §§ 198, 274. Perhaps we should omit the mark of interrogation in these places, as in the instances where καὶ δὴ with a perfect 'puts a case' (καὶ δὴ δέδεγμαι Aesch. Eum. 894, etc.)

14. καὶ δέδωκά γε. 'Yes, and I have given.' Aeschines, in a similar sense and usage, has δέ γε, cf. § 246 δίκην τις δέδωκε πονηρός· οἱ δέ γε ἄλλοι πεπαίδευνται.

15. ἐκείνων, i. e. my various offices. νῆ Δί'... ἦρξα. See § 101 note.

in the battle by the river certain of the troops had been disarmed by the enemy, at their private expense equipped the men with eight hundred shields, It has been resolved by the council and people to crown Charidemus and Diotimus with a golden crown and to make the proclamation of their names at the great Panathenaic festival during the gymnastic contest, and at the festival of Dionysus when the new dramatists contend: and that the six junior archons, the prytanes and the stewards of the games have charge of the proclamation.

Each of these men, Aeschines, was subject to scrutiny for 117 the office which he held, but was not subject to scrutiny for those things in virtue of which he was crowned. Nor am I, therefore: for I imagine I have the same rights as the rest under the same circumstances. Have I made a donation? I am praised on that account, not being held liable to scrutiny for what I gave. Did I hold offices? Yes, and I have yielded an account of them,—not of my donations. Yes, but (it will be said) I acted unjustly in my offices. If that were so, then, as you were present when the auditors brought me before them, did you omit to accuse me?

In order therefore that my hearers may see that my op- 118 ponent himself testifies in my favour, that I was crowned for actions for which I was not subject to scrutiny, take and read the whole decree which was proposed in my honour. For by means of those points in the previous resolution which he did not indict, it will be shown that he cavils in the counts on which he does prosecute. Please read.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Euthycles, on the twenty-second of Pyanepsion, during the prytanyship of the tribe Oeneis, Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes, of the deme Anaphlystus, proposed: Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the deme Paeania, having become overseer of the restoration of the walls, and having spent

118. 20. τὸ γραφέν μοι, § 115 τὰ τούτοις γεγενημένα.

οἷς .. τοῦ προβουλευματος. Cf. § 56 ἃ .. τοῦ ψηφίσματος.

21. τούτοις = 'by these' must be taken with φανήσεται.

23. ψήφισμα. The archon is pseud-

onymous. The sense of τοῖς.. θεωρικοῖς is doubtful, as 'the theoric funds from all the tribes' is an unintelligible expression, while it is violent to make θεωρικοῖς equivalent to θεωροῖς = 'deputies to the feasts.' Dind. has θεωροῖς in the text.

ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας τρία τάλαντα ἐπέδωκε ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ κατασταθεὶς ἐπέδωκε τοῖς ἐκ πασῶν τῶν φυλῶν θεωρικοῖς ἑκατὸν μνᾶς εἰς θυσίας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐπαινέσαι Δημοσθένην Δημοσθένους Παιανιᾷ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ καλοκαγα- 5 θίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ, καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγωδοῖς καινοῖς· τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ἀγωνοθέτην.]

10

119 Οὐκοῦν ἂ μὲν ἐπέδωκα, ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὧν οὐδὲν σὺ γέγραψαι· ἂ δέ φησιν ἡ βουλὴ δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων γενέσθαι μοι, ταῦτ' ἔσθ' ἂ διώκεις. τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ χάριν τούτων ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφη. ὁ δὲ παμπόνηρος ἄν- 15 θρωπος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ βάσκανος ὄντως ποῖός τις ἂν εἴη πρὸς θεῶν; οὐχ ὁ τοιοῦτος;

120 Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γ' ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ κηρύττεσθαι, τὸ μὲν μυριάκις μυρίους κεκηρῦχθαι παραλείπω καὶ τὸ πολλάκις αὐτὸς ἐστεφανῶσθαι πρότερον. ἀλλὰ πρὸς 20 θεῶν οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος, ὅπου ἂν ἀναρρηθῇ, τοῦ δὲ τῶν στεφανούντων ἕνεκα συμφέροντος ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γίγνεται τὸ κήρυγμα; οἱ γὰρ ἀκούσαντες ἅπαντες 25 εἰς τὸ ποιεῖν εὖ τὴν πόλιν προτρέπονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀποδιδόντας τὴν χάριν μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦσι τοῦ στεφανουμένου· διόπερ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον ἡ πόλις γέγραφεν. Λέγε δ' αὐτόν μοι τὸν νόμον λαβών.

119. 16. ὄντως, 'in the ideal sense.'
In Plato τὰ ὄντα are the *ἰδέαι*, or eternal archetypes of visible things.
18. περὶ τοῦ . . κηρύττεσθαι. Ae-

schines, c. Ct. § 33 sqq.

120. 20. πολλάκις, § 233 and § 83 note.

ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν . . κήρυγμα; It is

on the works out of his private property additional three talents, made a donation of these to the people, and when appointed manager of the theoric fund made a donation to the theoric funds in all the tribes of one hundred minae for the purpose of sacrifices, It hath been resolved by the council and the people of the Athenians to give a vote of thanks to Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the deme Paeania, on account of his excellence, and of the honourable conduct which he constantly shows on every occasion towards the people of the Athenians, and to crown him with a golden crown, and to proclaim the crown in the theatre at the festival of Dionysus when the new dramatists contend: and that the steward of the games be charged with the proclamation.

My donations therefore are these, none of which have you 119 indicted; but the return which the council says must be made me in recognition of them is what you prosecute. So, while you admit that to receive what is offered is constitutional, to return thanks for the offerings you indict as a breach of the constitution. What sort of man, in the name of heaven, would be in an ideal degree the utter villain, the apostate, and the malignant? Would he not be just such a man as we have here?

Furthermore, in dealing with the proclamation in the theatre, 120 I pass over the fact that ten thousand men have been there proclaimed ten thousand times over, and the fact that I myself have been often crowned before. But in heaven's name, Aeschines, are you so perverse and so devoid of perception, as to be unable to infer that, while the crown contains the same distinction for its recipient wherever it may be announced, it is in the interest of those who confer the crown that the proclamation takes place in the theatre? For all who hear are impelled to do their country good service, and praise those who show their gratitude more than the receiver of the crown. That is why the city has passed this law. [*To the clerk.*] Simply take and read me the law.

necessary to consider this an interrogation, owing to the presence of *πρὸς θεῶν*.

21. *ὥστ' οὐ δύνασθαι* is here to be

read with the best MSS. For the variant *ὥστ' οὐ δύνασθαι* see § 283 note.

23. *αὐτόν*, § 126 note.

NOMOS. [Ὅσους στεφανοῦσί τινες τῶν δῆμων, τὰς ἀναγορεύσεις τῶν στεφάνων ποιείσθαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκάστους τοῖς ἰδίοις δῆμοις, εἰ μὴ τινες ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ ἡ βουλὴ στεφανοῖ· τούτους δ' ἐξεῖναι ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις ἀναγορεύεσθαι.]

5

- 121 Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, τοῦ νόμου λέγοντος σαφῶς, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τινες ὁ δῆμος ἢ ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίσηται· τούτους δὲ ἀναγορευέτω. τί οὖν, ὦ ταλαίπωρε, συκοφαντεῖς; τί λόγους πλάττεις; τί σαυτὸν οὐκ ἐλλεβορίζεις ἐπὶ τούτοις; ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰσχύνῃ φθόνου δίκην εἰσάγειν, οὐκ 10 ἀδικήματος οὐδενός, καὶ νόμους μεταποιῶν, τῶν δ' ἀφαιρῶν μέρη, οὓς ὅλους δίκαιον ἦν ἀναγιγνώσκεισθαι τοῖς γε ὁμομοκόσι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφιεῖσθαι;
- 122 ἔπειτα τοιαῦτα ποιῶν λέγεις ἃ δεῖ προσεῖναι τῷ δημοτικῷ, ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντα ἐκδεδωκὼς κατὰ συγγραφὴν, 15 εἴτ' οὐκ ἔχοντα ἃ προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς συγγραφῆς κομιζόμενος, ἢ λόγῳ τοὺς δημοτικούς ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς πολιτεύμασι γινωσκομένους. βοᾷς ῥήτῃ καὶ ἄρρητῃ ὀνομάζων, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης, ἃ σοὶ καὶ τῷ σῷ
- 123 γένει πρόσσεστιν, οὐκ ἐμοί. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ ἄνδρες 20 Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐγὼ λοιδορίαν κατηγορίας τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, τῷ τὴν μὲν κατηγορίαν ἀδικήματ' ἔχειν, ὧν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις εἰσὶν αἱ τιμωρίαι, τὴν δὲ λοιδορίαν βλασφημίας, ἃς κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς περὶ ἀλλήλων συμβαίνει λέγειν. οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ τοὺς 25

1. νόμος. See Introduction.

121. 8. ἀναγορευέτω, sc. ὁ κήρυξ.

10. εἰσάγειν. Dind. has εἰσάγων, 'do you not feel ashamed when you bring into court,' etc.; and this reading seems necessary, unless the following participles are also changed into infinitives.

11. After νόμους Dind. has τοὺς μὲν, which is desirable.

122. 14. δημοτικῷ, Aeschines, c.

Ct. §§ 168, 169.

18. γινωσκομένους. After ὥς, ὥσπερ the accusative absolute is common, as § 276, and is used in Aeschines, c. Ct. § 142 γράψας . . βοηθεῖν Ἀθηναίους Βοιωτοῖς, . . ὥς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς . . ἀγαπήσοντας, even in violation of the canon of absolute clauses (for which see above § 33 note.)

Before βοᾷς Dind. has καί.

19. ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμάξης. On the second

LAW.

In the case of all whom any of the demes crown, let the crowning bodies make the proclamations each in their special demes only, except in the case of any persons whom the people of the Athenians or the council crown; but it shall be lawful that these be proclaimed in the theatre at the festival of Dionysus.

You hear, Aeschines, that the law distinctly states 'except 121 such as the people or the council shall decree,' but 'such let the herald proclaim.' Why, therefore, pettifogger, do you cavil? Why do you manufacture arguments? Why do you not dose yourself with hellebore after these ravings? What, are you not even prevented by shame from bringing into court a suit springing out of your own jealousy, not another's misdemeanour, and are you not ashamed when you twist laws and remove portions from others, which ought justly to have been recited in their entirety to men who, we must remember, have sworn to vote in accordance with the laws? After this, in the midst of such malpractices, you tell 122 us what qualities should attach to the leader of a free state, as though you had given out a statue to be made according to specification and afterwards received it without the points required by the specification, or as though popular statesmen were discovered by mere definition and not by their conduct and their public measures. You shout aloud, as if from a cart, epithets fit and filthy, which attach to you and your family, but not to me. And yet another point also, men of Athens. I have always supposed that to abuse and to accuse differ in 123 this, that while accusation implies misdemeanours, penalties for which are provided in the laws, abuse implies calumnies, which by a natural tendency private enemies find themselves speaking of one another. And I conceive that your ancestors

day of that festival of Dionysus which was called Ἀνθεστήρια, and was held in the Attic month Ἀνθεστηριών, which corresponded to February, took place the κῶμος ἐφ' ἁμαξῶν. The women rode to the mysteries in wag-gons, and on the way indulged in the most ribald personalities. From such processions, πομπαί, arose the words πομπεύειν, 'to be ribald,' which occurs § 124, and πομπεία, 'ribaldry,' § 11.

123. 20. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο. This elliptical phrase recurs Phil. i. § 11, p. 43: compare καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο pp. 442, 568, and ἐπεὶ κάκεινο, p. 1097.

24. κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν... συμβαίνει 'in accordance with their natural tendency,' i.e. as enemies, 'it comes about that they abuse one another.' The other rendering, 'more or less, according to their particular dispositions,' seems to introduce an irrelevant

*Demosth
begins
attack
Aeschines
Part I*

προγόνους ταυτὶ τὰ δικαστήρια ὑπέιληφα οὐχ ἵνα συλ-
λέξαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶς τὰ
ἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξελέγχωμεν,
124 εἰάν τις ἡδίκηκώς τι τυγχάνῃ τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα τοί-
νυν εἰδὼς Αἰσχίνης οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐμοῦ πομπεύειν ἀντὶ 5
τοῦ κατηγορεῖν εἴλετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἔλαττον
ἔχων δίκαιός ἐστιν ἀπελθεῖν. ἤδη δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα πορευ-
σομαι, τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσας. πότερόν σέ τίς,
Αἰσχίνη, τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρὸν ἢ ἐμὸν εἶναι φῆ; ἐμὸν
δῆλον ὅτι. εἴτα οὐ μὲν ἦν παρ' ἐμοῦ δίκην κατὰ τοὺς 10
νόμους ὑπὲρ τούτων λαβεῖν, εἴ περ ἡδίκουν, ἐξέλειπες,
ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις, ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρί-
125 σεσιν· οὐ δ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῶος ἅπασι, τοῖς νόμοις, τῷ
χρόνῳ, τῇ προθεσμίᾳ, τῷ κεκρίσθαι περὶ πάντων πολ-
λάκις πρότερον, τῷ μηδεπώποτε ἐξελεγχθῆναι μηδὲν 15
ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, τῇ πόλει δ' ἢ πλεόν ἢ ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη
τῶν γε δημοσίᾳ πεπραγμένων μετεῖναι τῆς δόξης, ἐν-
ταῦθα ἀπήντηκας; ὅρα μὴ τούτων μὲν ἐχθρὸς ᾦς,
ἐμοὶ δὲ προσποιῇ.

thought, which also weakens the general argument.

2. κακῶς could well be dispensed with. Both κακῶς λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους and τὰ ἀπόρρητα λέγωμεν ἀλλήλους are regular Greek: but their combination in one construction, in which Dissen sees no difficulty, is at any rate unexampled. The conjecture ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κακῶν is rejected by Dissen on rather weak grounds ('Dedecora privata pauci concedant se habere, nec Demosthenes concedit, sed maledicunt sibi ex privata vita litigantes nunc vere, nunc etiam mendacis compositis'). κακῶς has all the best, however, of the MS. authority. And it would be rather wanton to excise it as a gloss on τὰ ἀπόρρητα, when it yields a conceivable, if unusual, construction.

Aeschines' λοιδορία is contained in c. Ct. §§ 171 sqq.

124. 5. πομπεύειν, § 122 note.

6. ἐνταῦθα, i.e. in the matter of personalities.

11. ὑπὲρ τούτων can only mean 'on behalf of your countrymen,' as the whole point now is that Aeschines not only neglected to serve his country by taking proper means to bring Demosthenes, if guilty, to justice, but ventured even to assail his country in his present prosecution, which left Demosthenes unscathed. Observe in the following chapter the emphatic opposition ἐγὼ μὲν ἀθῶος κ.τ.λ. . . τῇ πόλει δὲ κ.τ.λ.

ἐξέλειπες. Dind. has ἐξέλειπες. The word is specially applied to desertion: cf. Aeschines, c. Ct. § 7 ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν.

built these courts of law, not that we might assemble you here, and out of our private histories slander one another unspeakably, but that we might convict the man who may have wronged his country in any particular. Though Aeschines, 124 then, was well aware of this, he nevertheless deliberately chose to utter ribaldry, rather than bring accusations, against me. Not that he has any right to quit the ground without receiving his due in kind; and I will at once step forward to give him this, when I have asked him but one question. Would it be said, Aeschines, that you were the enemy of the state, or my enemy? My enemy, obviously. Yet, in the one field, where you might have got satisfaction from me constitutionally and patriotically, if indeed I were guilty,—in the audits, indictments, and other forms of trial,—you deserted your post. In 125 another field, where personally I am invulnerable on all sides—owing to the laws, the lapse of time, the statute of limitations, the fact that I have many times before been tried on every count and never to this day been convicted of doing my hearers any wrong—where the state, however, must share more or less largely in the credit of what, observe, were done as national acts,—have you fixed our encounter here? Beware lest you be found the enemy of your countrymen and make but a feint of enmity towards me.

125. 13. τοῖς νόμοις κ.τ.λ. The common interpretation, which makes τῇ προθεσίᾳ simply repeat νόμοις and χρόνῳ in combination, exhibits a very violent tautology. Hence it is better to refer νόμοις to the particular laws just produced as sanctioning the coronation and proclamation.

14. προθεσίᾳ. In suits of most kinds (among them γραφαὶ παρανόμων) a period after which they could not

be brought was fixed by the νόμος προθεσίᾳς, or 'statute of limitations.' In some serious criminal charges no such period was fixed: and we must suppose that a similar relaxation of the law had been granted, or was exceptionally claimed, in the case of the present γραφή.

πολλάκις, §§ 222, 310.

18. μὴ .. ᾗς. See Shilleto, de Fals. Leg. App. A.

- 126 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἡ μὲν εὐσεβὴς καὶ δικαία ψῆφος
 ἅπασι δέδεικται, δεῖ δέ με, ὥς ἔοικε, καίπερ οὐ φι-
 λολοῖδορον ὄντα, διὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τούτου βλασφημίας
 εἰρημένους ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ ψευδῶν αὐτὰ τάναγκαιό-
τατ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων 5
 ῥαδίως οὕτως ἄρχει τοῦ κακῶς λέγειν, καὶ λόγους
 τίνους διασύρει, αὐτὸς εἰρηκῶς ἃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὥκνησε
 127 τῶν μετρίων ἀνθρώπων φθέγξασθαι;—εἰ γὰρ Αἰα-
 κὸς ἢ Ῥαδάμανθυς ἢ Μίνως ἦν ὁ κατηγορῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ
σπερμολόγος, περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς, ὀλεθρος γραμματεῦς, 10
 οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν οἶμαι ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν οὐδ' ἂν οὕτως ἐπα-
 χθεῖς λόγους πορίσασθαι, ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ βοῶντα
 ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πάλιν
 σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείαν ἐπικαλούμενον, ἧ τὰ καλὰ καὶ
 τὰ αἰσχρὰ διαγιγνώσκεται· ταῦτα γὰρ δήπουθεν 15
 128 ἡκούετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος. σοὶ δὲ ἀρετῆς, ὦ κάθαρμα, ἡ

126. 1. ἐπειδὴ κ.τ.λ. There is no need to suppose an 'indignant suppression of the apodosis' at the end of this section. The protasis in two members, ἡ μὲν . . δέδεικται and δεῖ δέ με κ.τ.λ., proceeds quite regularly down to φθέγξασθαι; then, §§ 127, 128, a parenthesis, introduced by γάρ, extends continuously, in closely-connected sentences, as far as περίεστιν. After this parenthesis, the participial clause, § 129 οὐκ ἀπορῶν δὲ . . εἰπεῖν quite normally resumes and adds to the protasis, and at last the apodosis comes in ἀπορῶ . . ἐργασίας [or, with Dind.'s reading, ἀπορῶ . . ἐξέθρεψε], rounding the period and fulfilling the promise (δεῖξαι τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων, etc.) given in the protasis. In translation it is perhaps most convenient to treat protasis and apodosis here as co-ordinates.

εὐσεβὴς . . ψῆφος. Cf. Fals. Leg. § 356, p. 441 τὴν ὁσίαν καὶ τὴν δικαίαν ψῆφον.

3. διὰ τὰς . . εἰρημένους, § 71 note.

4. αὐτὰ . . εἰπεῖν, 'merely state.' For the adverbial force of αὐτός, in connection with the object of a verb in the imperative, cf. §§ 53, 73, 76, 115, 120. Compare the use with prepositions § 9 note.

5. τίς ὢν καὶ τίνων, § 10.

6. ῥαδίως οὕτως. Aeschin, c. Ct. § 234 τοιαύτας φύσεις . . αἱ ῥαδίως οὕτως κατέλυσαν τὸν δῆμον.

λόγους. See on § 232 below.

7. τίνους. Dissen reads τινάς, 'certain expressions of mine;' but, if we have the pronoun at all, the interrogative form is the more forcible.

127. 9. ὁ κατηγορῶν. Dind. omits the article; but the analytic imperfect thus remaining is unusual in Demosthenes.

10. σπερμολόγος, literally 'a picker-up of trifles,' as a bird picks up seed. Compare the curiously exact paraphrase in Shakspeare's Love's Labour's Lost, v. 2—

'This fellow pecks up wit, as pigeons peas,

I have therefore pointed out to all the conscientious and **126** just verdict. Next, so it seems, although I am not fond of invective, I am compelled by the calumnies which have been uttered by my opponent to state, not a mass of falsehoods, but merely the most indispensable facts concerning him, and to show what is his character and origin that he so lightly commences the use of hard words, and to point out what are the expressions which he disparages after himself **127** saying things which every respectable man would have hesitated to pronounce. For if the accuser were Aeacus or Rhadamanthus or Minos, and not a babblers, the worn change of the market-place, a pestilential scribe, I do not think he would have used Aeschines' language, nor have furnished himself with expressions so offensive, exclaiming as in a tragedy, 'Oh, earth, and sun, and virtue!' and the like, or further invoking 'intelligence and culture, by which the honourable and the dishonourable are discriminated.' For I presume you heard him speaking thus. But what relation, offscouring, **128**

And utters it again when Jove doth please :

He is wit's peddler; and retails his wares

At wakes, and wassels, meetings, markets, fairs.'

περίτριμμα ἀγορᾶς is literally 'a thing worn smooth by friction in the market-place,' hence, what we should call 'a hack.' In the catalogue of rascals in the Clouds (Ar. Nub. 447), where περίτριμμα δικῶν occurs, there seems to be added the notion of low cunning and skill. Compare Soph. Aj. 103 τοῦπίτριπτον κίναδος, spoken of Odysseus, and the uses of τρίβων, ἐντριβής.

δλέθρος here, and in Phil. iii. § 31. p. 119, where Philip is called δλέθρου Μακεδόνος, is said to be employed as an adjective. But in Fals. Leg. § 109. p. 371 πανούργος οὗτος καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸς καὶ γραμματεὺς, there is a climax culminating in the word γραμματεὺς used without epithet, and παρὰ προσδοκίαν. A similar climax would not be inap-

propriate here, 'a babblers, a hack of the square, a pest, a clerk!' if the rhythm of the sentence did not seem to forbid it. That γραμματεὺς was a term of opprobrium, and that Aeschines took great offence at it, is clear from Fals. Leg. § 361. p. 442 καὶ 'ὁ γε γραμματεὺς καὶ Αἰσχίνης' εἶπη τις, ἐχθρὸς εὐθέως καὶ κακῶς φησὶν ἀκηκοέναι. See Shilleto, Fals. Leg. § 109. p. 371 note; and in this speech, § 261 τὸ κάλλιστον ἐξελέγω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεῦν κ.τ.λ.

12. ὥσπερ ἐν τραγωδίᾳ. Cf. § 262 note.

βοῶντα κ.τ.λ. Aeschin. c. Ct. § 260 ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ᾧ γῇ καὶ ἥλιε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία, ἣ διαγιγνώσκωμεν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρά, βεβοήθηκα καὶ εἶρηκα. This peroration seems rather ridiculous to modern ears; but apparently, to Demosthenes' judgment, its fault was its offensiveness and its special inappropriateness in the mouth of Aeschines.

128. 16. κάθαρμα. That two crim-

τοῖς σοῖς τίς μετουσία; ἡ καλῶν ἢ μὴ τοιούτων τίς διάγνωσις; πόθεν ἢ πῶς ἀξιωθέντι; ποῦ δὲ παιδείας σοι θέμις μνησθῆναι, ἥς τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς τετυχηκότων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς εἴποι περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶν ἑτέρου λέγοντος ἐρυθριάσειεν, τοῖς δ' ἀπολειφθεῖσι 5 μὲν ὥσπερ σύ, προσποιουμένοις δ' ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας τὸ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀλγεῖν ποιεῖν, ὅταν λέγωσιν, οὐ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιούτοις εἶναι περίεστιν.

- 129 Οὐκ ἀπορῶν δ' ὃ τι χρὴ περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν εἰπεῖν, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, πότερ' ὡς ὁ πατήρ 10 σου Τρόμης ἐδούλευε παρ' Ἑλπίᾳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ Θησεΐῳ διδάσκοντι γράμματα, χοίνικας παχείας ἔχων καὶ ξύλον, ἢ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ τοῖς μεθήμερινοῖς γάμοις ἐν τῷ κλεισίῳ τῷ πρὸς τῷ καλαμίτῃ Ἡρωὶ χρωμένη τὸν καλὸν ἀνδριάντα καὶ τριταγωνιστὴν ἄκρον ἐξέθρεψέ σε; 15 ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ τριηραύλης Φορμίων, ὁ Δίωνος τοῦ Φρεαρρίου δούλος, ἀνέστησεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς καλῆς ἐργασίας; ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀκνῶ μὴ περὶ σοῦ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγων αὐτοὺς οὐ προσήκοντας
- 130 ἐμαυτῷ δόξω προηρῆσθαι λόγους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔασω, 20 ἀπ' αὐτῶν δὲ ὧν αὐτοὺς βεβίωκεν ἄρξομαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὧν ἔτυχεν ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷς ὁ δῆμος καταράται. ὁψέ γάρ

inals or other persons were annually sacrificed by Athens, as a national purification, at the festival called Θαργήλια; that they bore, among other names, the appellation καθάρματα; and that hence arose Demosthenes' use of this word, to signify persons of the basest sort, is an opinion as yet supported by evidence which may fairly be called fragmentary. When the evidence is complete, the epithet will receive additional force; but, till then, it is safer to revert to the original meaning of the word.

2. πόθεν . . . ἀξιωθέντι; cf. § 51.

3. θέμις is equivalent to the Latin

fas in usage: Greek, however, lacks the convenient *nefas*, and supplies the want of the negative by the use of the 'indignant interrogation.'

6. ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας is to be taken with ποιεῖν.

8. τοιούτοις. See § 140 note. περίεστιν. Literally, 'the result is.' Cf. § 80 περιεγένετο.

129. 14. τῷ καλαμίτῃ Ἡρωί. In the parallel passage, De Fals. Leg. § 279. p. 419 πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Ἡρώ τοῦ ἱατροῦ, it is better to render 'near the house of Heros, the physician,' as against the other interpretation, 'near the temple (or statue) of the hero-physi-

have you or yours with virtue? or what critical knowledge of the honourable or the reverse? Whence or how qualified? Is it not profanity for you to name the name of culture, none of whose true possessors would say anything of this kind about himself, but each would blush to hear it from another's lips? while those who, like you, lack but pretend to culture, succeed in paining their hearers by their want of sensibility, but do not succeed in seeming what they would be thought.

So, though I am at no loss what to say of you and yours, **129** yet I am at a loss what to mention first: whether that your father Tromes was a slave in the house of Elpias, the teacher of letters, near the temple of Theseus, wearing shackles and a wooden collar, or that your mother, by means of her noonday nuptials in the hovel near the house of the Man of Splints, Heros, reared up that handsome model of a man, that supreme actor of third parts, yourself: ay, or that the boatswain Phormio, slave of Dion of the deme Phrearri, lifted her up from this honourable industry. But Zeus and the gods know that I tremble lest if I say what befits you I shall appear to have wilfully chosen topics which do not befit my own character. I will therefore leave this, and **130** will begin at once with the acts of his own life: for he was a man of no ordinary occupations, but of such practices as the people execrates. Late in life—late in life do I

cian.' *καλαμίτης* will be 'a by-word for *ιατρός*, from the *κάλαμοι* used for surgical purposes' (Shilleto). So we should here also render 'near the house of the surgeon Heros.' [As *τῷ* . . *ἤρωι* seems purposely assonant to the preceding *τῷ* . . *Θησείῳ*, a play on *ἤρωι*, as a common as well as a proper name, must be meant.] This seems easier than to suppose a hero with a shrine 'among the reeds, or thatched with reeds, for which sense only Theocr. xxviii. 4. *Κύπριδος ἱδὸν καλάμῳ χλωρὸν ἰφ' ἀπαλῷ* is compared.

15. *ἀνδριάντα*. Aeschines (see Dissen ad h. l.) had a handsome person,

but was stiff in his delivery; hence he was specially qualified for the 'walking parts' usually given to the *τριταγωνιστής*.

16. Before *ἀλλ' ὥς κ.τ.λ.* Dind. has *ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσασι ταῦτα καὶ ἐγὼ μὴ λέγω*.

17. *ἀνέστησεν*, i.e. *καθήμενῃν* (Dissen.)

130. 21. *ὦν* . . *βεβίωκεν*. See § 198, and Dissen's note ad h. l.

οὐδὲ γὰρ . . *καταρᾶται*, according to a suggestion in Σ, precedes *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν* . . *έάσω*. With this arrangement *ὦν ἔτυχεν* would refer to Aeschines' parents, 'for he was not

- ποτε —, ὁψὲ λέγω; χθὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ πρόφην ἅμ' Ἀθη-
ναῖος καὶ ῥήτωρ γέγονε, καὶ δύο συλλαβὰς προσθεῖς
τὸν μὲν πατέρα ἀντὶ Τρόμητος ἐποίησεν Ἀτρόμητον,
τὴν δὲ μητέρα σεμνῶς πάνυ Γλαυκοθέαν, ἣν Ἐμπου-
σαν ἅπαντες ἴσασι καλουμένην, ἐκ τοῦ πάντα ποιεῖν 5
καὶ πάσχειν καὶ γίγνεσθαι δηλονότι ταύτης τῆς ἐπω-
131 νυμίας τυχοῦσαν πόθεν γὰρ ἄλλοθεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως
οὕτως ἀχάριστος εἶ καὶ πονηρὸς φύσει, ὥστ' ἐλεύθερος
ἐκ δούλου καὶ πλούσιος ἐκ πτωχοῦ διὰ τουτουσὶ γε-
γονὼς οὐχ ὅπως χάριν αὐτοῖς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας 10
σαυτὸν κατὰ τουτωνὶ πολιτεύῃ. καὶ περὶ ὧν μὲν ἐστὶ
τις ἀμφισβήτησις, ὡς ἄρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἴρηκεν,
έάσω· ἃ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν φανερώς ἀπεδείχθη πράτ-
των, ταῦτα ἀναμνήσω.
- 132 Τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ἀποψηφισθέντα Ἀν- 15
τιφῶντα, ὃς ἐπαγγειλάμενος Φιλίππῳ τὰ νεώρια
ἐμπρήσειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦλθεν; ὃν λαβόντος ἐμοῦ
κεκρυμμένον ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ καταστήσαντος εἰς τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν βοῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὗτος καὶ κεκραγὼς, ὡς
ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δεινὰ ποιῶ τοὺς ἡτυχηκότας τῶν πο- 20
λιτῶν ὑβρίζων καὶ ἐπ' οἰκίας βαδίζων ἄνευ ψηφίσμα-
133 τος, ἀφεθῆναι ἐποίησεν. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἡ βουλή ἡ ἐξ

even come of ordinary parents, but of such persons as the People bans.' But the curse pronounced by the κήρυξ, at the commencement of proceedings in the ἐκκλησία, did not include such persons as Aeschines' parents are here said to have been, and bore only on those who were guilty of treasonable practices (cf. § 282). The present text, which is universally adopted, requires ὧν ἐτυχεῖν to refer to the immediately preceding ὧν βεβίωκεν, and the subject of ἦν will still be Aeschines, 'for he was a man, not of ordinary occupations (ὧν ἐτυχεῖν being an un-

paralleled attraction for τοιούτων ἃ ἐτυχεῖν), but of occupations which the people execrates.'

1. χθὲς... καὶ πρόφην. Cf. 'hodie atque heri.'

4. After Γλαυκοθέαν Dind. has ὠνόμασεν. Aeschines' mother would originally be called Γλανκίς.

Ἐμπουσαν. So the hobgoblin, which constantly undergoes the strangest transformations, is called, Aristoph. Frogs, 284 sqq.

131. 11. πολιτεύῃ. Dind. here, as elsewhere, has the old Attic form πολιτεύει.

say?—nay rather, yesterday or the day before, he has become at once an Athenian citizen and an orator, and, by the addition of a couple of syllables, made his father into Atrometus instead of Tromes, and named his mother very grandiloquently Glaucothea, though all know that she was called Empusa, having obviously gained this surname because she did, suffered, and became whatever you please. For how else could she have got the name? Nevertheless, you are so 131 naturally ungrateful and villainous, that, though you have become a freeman instead of a slave, and rich instead of poor, through the kindness of my hearers, you not only feel no gratitude to them, but have made yourself a hireling, and interfere in public affairs to their injury. And now I will say nothing about matters in which there is any room for contending that, in spite of appearances, he has spoken on behalf of the state; but the active measures which he has been plainly proved to have taken on behalf of our enemies, I will recall to your recollection.

Which of you is not acquainted with the disfranchised An- 132 tiphon, who came to Athens bound by a promise to Philip that he would burn the dockyards? When I had caught him in hiding in the Piraeus, and had set him before the assembly, my malignant opponent, taking a loud tone and screaming that I ‘commit outrage in a free state by insulting our unfortunate countrymen, and entering houses without a warrant,’ caused him to be released. And if the council of the 133

13. πράττων is opposed to εἶρκεν.

132. 15. ἀποψηφισθέντα. When there was reason to believe that the *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, or roll of the fully-privileged citizens in each deme, contained the names of unqualified persons, aliens, or born of illegal marriages, a meeting of the *δημόται* was summoned to revise the register. Name by name the whole list was submitted to their vote (*διαψηφίζεσθαι*): and any man whose name was rejected (*ἀποψηφισθείς*) was reduced to the status of an unprivileged alien.

20. ἡτυχηκότας. Compare *συμφορὰ χρεῖσθαι*, and the Latin *calamitas*, *calamitosus* (Cic. Phil. ii. c. 23. § 56, c. 23. § 98), applied to persons suffering civil disabilities.

133. 22. βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου. This council, among its many and loosely-defined functions, had the power of *ἀπόφασις*, that is, of ‘making a report’ to the assembly, in cases into which they had specially inquired and found that a miscarriage of justice would result unless action were taken.

Ἀρείου πάγου τὸ πρᾶγμα αἰσθομένη καὶ τὴν ὑμετέ-
 ραν ἄγνοιαν ἐν οὐ δέοντι συμβεβηκυῖαν ἰδοῦσα ἐπε-
 ζήτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἐπανήγαγεν
 ὡς ὑμᾶς, ἐξήρπαστ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τὸ δίκην δοῦναι
 διαδὺς ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ σεμνολόγου τουτουί 5
 νῦν δ' ὑμεῖς στρεβλώσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπεκτείνετε, ὡς
 134 ἔδει γε καὶ τοῦτον. τοιγαροῦν εἰδυῖα ταῦτα ἡ βουλὴ
 ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου τότε τούτῳ πεπραγμένα, χειρο-
 τονησάντων αὐτὸν ὑμῶν σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ
 ἐν Δήλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ἥσπερ πολλὰ προῖ- 10
 εσθε τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς προείλεσθε κάκειν καὶ τοῦ
 πράγματος κυρίαν ἐποιήσατε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπή-
 λασεν ὡς προδότην, Ὑπερείδῃ δὲ λέγειν προσέταξεν
 καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέρουσα τὴν ψῆφον ἔπραξε,
 135 καὶ οὐδεμία ψῆφος ἠνέχθη τῷ μιᾶρῳ τούτῳ. Καὶ 15
 ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

MARTYRES. [Μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει ὑπὲρ ἁπάν-
 των οἷδε, Καλλίας Σουνιεύς, Ζήνων Φλυεύς, Κλέων Φα-
 ληρεύς, Δημόνικος Μαραθώνιος, ὅτι τοῦ δήμου ποτὲ
 χειροτονήσαντος Αἰσχίνην σύνδικον ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ 20
 ἐν Δήλῳ εἰς τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας συνεδρεύσαντες ἡμεῖς
 ἐκρίναμεν Ὑπερείδην ἄξιον εἶναι μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως
 λέγειν, καὶ ἀπεστάλη Ὑπερείδης.]

Οὐκοῦν ὅτε τούτου μέλλοντος ἀπήλασεν ἡ βουλὴ

1. τὴν ὑμετέραν . . συμβεβηκυῖαν, § 71 note. The participle here may, however, be predicative: 'observing that your blindness occurred anything but opportunely.'

5. ἐξεπέμπετ' ἂν, § 30 note. Dind. reads the rare pluperf. ἐξεπέπεμπτ' ἂν: Voemel the syncopated imperf. ἐξεπέμπτ', often presented by MSS. when either of the above forms of this word occurs.

134. 9. σύνδικον. This was the name specially given to the advocates who were commissioned to represent the state at a foreign tribunal.

10. ἥσπερ exhibits a curious omission of the preposition, owing to its previous occurrence, near at hand, in the main sentence; or, just possibly, it is an attraction, equally remarkable, from the regular ἥπερ. Some MSS., however, have ἀφ' ἥσπερ, which should

Areopagus, having scented the trick, and having perceived your inopportune ignorance, had not made further search for the fellow, and, after his arrest, brought him a second time before you, a villain so deep would have been spirited away, ^{my good} and, having escaped through a loophole the payment of his penalty, would have been conveyed from the country by this master of fine phrases. As it was, you stretched him on the rack and put him to death, as properly you should have put my opponent also. Hence, aware that these treasons **134** had been committed by Aeschines in that matter, when afterwards you had elected him to be your counsel in the question of the Delian temple, owing to the same want of sight through which you sacrifice many national interests, the Council of the Areopagus—in virtue of the fact that you had chosen that body specially, and given it plenary powers in the negotiation—at once rejected him as a traitor, and instructed Hyperides to plead your cause. And this they did tendering their ballots at the altar; and not a single ballot was tendered for my polluted opponent. To prove that I state this truly, summon **135** those who testify to this.

WITNESSES.

The following support Demosthenes with their evidence on all points, Callias of the deme Sunium, Zeno of the deme Phlyes, Cleon of the deme Phalerus, Demonicus of the deme Marathon, as follows: 'When on a certain occasion the people had elected Aeschines to go, as their advocate in the dispute about the temple at Delus, to the Amphictyons, we, having held a session, decided that Hyperides was more worthy to speak on behalf of the state, and Hyperides was commissioned.'

When, therefore, though my opponent was intended for probably be read.

11. προείλεσθε κάκειν, 'had specially chosen that body (the Areopagus) too (i. e. as well as yourselves), and given it final authority in the matter.' Dind. from Wolf's conjecture, has προσειλεσθε, 'associated to yourselves,' which makes good sense, but is not necessary. Voemel has, from another conjecture, προείλετο ('the Areopagus took special action'), omit-

ting καί before τοῦ πράγματος.

14. ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ . . ψῆφον. As φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον is to give one's vote ('ferre suffragium'), not to take up the ballot, we must probably understand here that when the votes were given, as when oaths were sworn, each man grasped the altar with one hand.

135. 24. μέλλοντος, sc. λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως. Dind. has λέγοντος, which must be rendered 'appointed

καὶ προσέταξεν ἑτέρῳ, τότε καὶ προδότην εἶναι καὶ κακόνουν ὑμῖν ἀπέφηνεν.

- 136 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο τοιοῦτο πολίτευμα τοῦ νεανίου τούτου, ὅμοιόν γε, οὐ γάρ; οἷς ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ ἕτερον δὲ ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε. ὅτε γὰρ Πύθωνα Φίλιππος ἔπεμψε 5 τὸν Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμμάχων πάντων συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὥς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ποιήσων τὴν πόλιν καὶ δείξων ἀδικοῦσαν, τότε ἐγὼ μὲν τῷ Πύθωνι θρασυνομένῳ καὶ πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν οὐχ ὑπεχώρησα, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἀντείπον καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως 10 δίκαια οὐχὶ προῦδωκα, ἀλλ' ἀδικοῦντα Φίλιππον ἐξήλεγξα φανερώς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν· οὗτος δὲ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ τάναντία ἐμαρτύρει τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῇ.
- 137 Καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχρη ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦθ' 15 ὕστερον Ἀναξίνῳ τῷ κατασκόπῳ συνιῶν εἰς τὴν Θράσωνος οἰκίαν ἐλήφθη. καίτοι ὅστις τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πεμφθέντι μόνος μόνῳ συνήει καὶ ἐκοινολογεῖτο, οὗτος αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει κατάσκοπος καὶ πολέμιος τῇ πατρίδι. Καὶ ὅτι ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ λέγω, κάλει μοι 20 τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ. [Τελέδῃμος Κλέωνος, Ὑπερείδης Καλαίσχρον, Νικόμαχος Διοφάντου μαρτυροῦσι Δημοσθένει καὶ ἐπωμόσαντο ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰδέναι Αἰσχίνην Ἀτρομήτου Κοθωκίδην συνερχόμενον νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν 25 Θράσωνος οἰκίαν καὶ κοινολογούμενον Ἀναξίνῳ, ὃς

to speak.' With either reading there is a violation of the canon of absolute clauses (§ 33 note), as the participle should have agreed in case with αὐτόν, in the main sentence, to which it refers.

136. 3. νεανίου. At the time of the Delian controversy (345 B.C.) Aeschines was about forty-four years

of age, at the time of this trial fourteen years older still: hence νεανίου can have no reference to his time of life, but is used ironically of his promising character as a politician.

12. ἐκείνου, § 148 note.

13. ἀνισταμένους, 'stood up and confessed,' cf. § 10 ἀναστάντες καταψηφί-

your advocate, the Areopagus rejected him and gave his office to another, they then made it apparent that he was a traitor and disloyal to you.

Such then is this one public act of our hero,—similar, is it 136 not, to those of which he accuses me? But call another to your recollection. When Philip sent Pytho, the Byzantine, and with him ambassadors from all his own allies, intending to disgrace Athens and to show that she was guilty, on that occasion, although Pytho was waxing bold and coming down in a torrent against you, I was not washed away, but I rose and contradicted him, and did not betray the rights of the state. On the contrary, I convicted Philip of guilt so glaring that his very allies stood up and confessed the truth. My opponent, on the other hand, took sides with the enemy and bore witness, and that false witness, against his country.

And this did not suffice; but after this, at a later time, he 137 was again discovered visiting Anaxinus, the spy, at the house of Thraso. Yet a man who had private meetings with the emissary of the enemy, and conferred with him, was himself at the bottom a born spy, and hostile to his country. To prove that I state this truly, please summon those who bear witness to this.

WITNESSES.

Teledemus, son of Cleon, Hyperides, son of Callaeschrus, Nicomachus, son of Diophantes, give evidence in support of Demosthenes, and swore, in the presence of the generals, that they knew that Aeschines, son of Atrometus, of the deme Cothocis, came by night to the house of Thraso to meet, and did hold conference with,

ξεσθε ἦδη, or, perhaps better, 'confessed by standing up.'

137. 15. μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον. For the emphatic pleonasm cf. § 36 μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθὺς, οὐκ εἰς μακράν.

16. Ἀναξίνῳ, Aesch. c. Ct. § 223.

19. ὑπῆρχε τῇ φύσει, literally, 'was potentially by nature.'

24. ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν, 'in presence of the generals,' as below, ἐπὶ Νικίου. Who Nicias was is unintelligible: he was not archon.

ἐκρίθη εἶναι κατάσκοπος παρὰ Φιλίππου. αὗται ἀπεδόθησαν αἱ μαρτυρίαι ἐπὶ Νικίου, ἐκατομβαιῶνος τρίτη ἱσταμένου.]

138 Μυρία τοίνυν ἔτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείπω. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ἔχει. πολλὰ ἂν ἐγὼ ἔτι 5 τούτων ἔχοιμι δεῖξαι, ὧν οὗτος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετῶν ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπηρεάζων εὐρέθη. ἀλλ' οὐ τίθεται ταῦτα παρ' ὑμῖν εἰς ἀκριβῆ μνήμην οὐδ' ἦν προσῆκεν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ δεδώκατε ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ πολλὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸν λέ- 10 γοντά τι τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων ὑποσκελίζειν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν, τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς λοιδορίαις ἡδονῆς καὶ χάριτος τὸ τῆς πόλεως συμφέρον ἀνταλλαττόμενοι· διόπερ ῥᾶόν ἐστι καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον αἰετοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπηρετοῦντα μισθαρνεῖν ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐλόμενον τάξιν 15 πολιτεύεσθαι.

139 Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τοῦ πολεμεῖν φανερώς συναγωνίζεσθαι Φιλίππῳ δεινὸν μὲν, ὧ γῇ καὶ θεοί, πῶς γὰρ οὔ; κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος· δότε δ', εἰ βούλεσθε, δότε αὐτῷ τοῦτο. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ φανερώς ἤδη τὰ πλοῖα 20 ἐσεσύλητο, Χερρόνησος ἐπορθεῖτο, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπορεύεθ' ἄνθρωπος, οὐκετ' ἐν ἀμφισβητησίμῳ τὰ πράγματα ἦν ἀλλ' ἐνεστήκει πόλεμος, ὃ τι μὲν πώποτ' ἔπραξεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὁ βάσκανος οὐτοσὶ ἱαμβειοφάγος, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι δεῖξαι, οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε μείζον οὔτ' ἔλαττον 25 ψήφισμα οὐδὲν Αἰσχίνῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει· εἰ δέ φησι, νῦν δειξάτω ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι.

139. 17. μὲν δὴ . . ἀλλὰ κ.τ.λ.

24. ἱαμβειοφάγος, either mumbling the verses he had to recite as *τριταγωνιστής* (cf. § 267 *ρήσεις* as *ἐλυμαίνου*), or getting his livelihood as an actor (cf. § 262), or, least well, uttering lampoons (*ἱαμβοί*). Almost all MSS.,

however, give *ἱαμβιογράφος*, which would mean 'writer of lampoons,' and may be right, though we do not know as a fact that Aeschines did write lampoons. Nearly all editors prefer the reading in the text on the authority of Hermogenes.

Anaxinus, who was judged to be a spy sent from Philip. These depositions were rendered in presence of Nicias, on the third day of the beginning of Hecatombaeon.

Although, therefore, I can state ten thousand other facts 138 about him, I omit to do so. For the position is somewhat as follows: I could point to many more of these instances in which my opponent was discovered throughout those periods to be serving the enemy and acting spitefully against me. But these things are not stored up for accurate recollection or for due resentment in your hearts. On the contrary, by a bad habit, you have given abundant licence to all who wish to trip up and malign the supporter of any of your interests, bartering away your national advantage for the pleasure and gratification which you find in invective. Hence it is always easier and safer to be a hireling in the service of your enemies than to choose the post of your protector in the field of politics.

And so, although his manifest cooperation with Philip before the war began was a shameful act—in the name of earth and heaven, what else could it be?—against his country; yet forgive him for this, if you please to do so. But when our vessels had been openly made prize of war, when the Chersonese was under siege, when the enemy was advancing against Attica, when the situation was no longer in the realm of speculation, but war was pressing upon us, my malignant opponent, the mouther of iambics, can point to no action which he ever yet did on your behalf; nor is any decree, greater or less, in furtherance of our national interests, due to Aeschines. If he says there is, let him point it out now, while my hour-glass runs.

27. ἐν τῷ ἑμῷ ὕδατι. Cf. Fals. Leg. § 64, p. 359 ἂν τις ἀντιλέγῃ τούτων, ἀναστὰς ἐν τῷ ἑμῷ ὕδατι εἰπάτω. The time allowed to each contending party in an Athenian court was limited, and was measured by the κλεψύδρα or water-clock. See Aesch. c. Ct. § 197

εἰς τρία μέρη διαιρεῖται ἡ ἡμέρα, ὅταν εἰσὶν γραφὴ παρανόμων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. ἐγχείται γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὕδωρ τῷ κατηγορῷ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ὕδωρ τῷ τὴν γραφὴν φεύγοντι καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα λέγουσιν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέν. καίτοι δυοῖν αὐτὸν ἀνάγκη θάτερον ἢ μηδὲν τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τότ' ἔχοντ' ἐγκαλεῖν μὴ γράφειν παρὰ ταῦθ' ἕτερα, ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμφέρον ζητοῦντα μὴ φέρειν εἰς μέσον τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω.

5

- 140 Ἄρ' οὖν οὐδ' ἔλεγεν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἔγραφεν, ἥνικα ἐργάσασθαί τι δέοι κακόν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἦν εἰπεῖν ἑτέρῳ. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ φέρειν ἡδύναθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἢ πόλις καὶ ποιῶν οὗτος λανθάνειν· ἐν δ' ἐπεξεργάσατο ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοιοῦτον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς προτέροις ἐπέθηκε τέλος· περὶ οὗ τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνάλωσε λόγους, τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν διεξιὼν δόγματα, ὡς διαστρέψων τάληθές. τὸ δ' οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· πόθεν; οὐδέποτ' ἐκνίψῃ σὺ τὰ κεῖ πεπραγμένα σαυτῷ· οὐχ οὕτω πολλὰ ἐρεῖς.

15

- 141 Καλῶ δ' ἐναντίον ὑμῶν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας, ὅσοι τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς πατρῷός ἐστι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐπεύχομαι πᾶσι τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἀληθῆ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἴποισι καὶ εἶπον καὶ τότ' εὐθύς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅτε πρῶτον εἶδον τουτονὶ τὸν μιᾶρὸν τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἀπτόμενον (ἔγνω γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνω), εὐτυχίαν μοι δοῦναι καὶ σωτηρίαν, εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ φιλονεικίας ἰδίας ἔνεκ' αἰτίαν ἐπάγω τούτῳ ψευδῇ, πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνόνητόν με ποιῆσαι.

25

ψήφῳ μὴ λυθῇ τὸ παράνομον, ἥδη τὸ τρίτον ὕδωρ ἐγχεῖται τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας (i. e. for the fixing of the punishment).

2. *θάτερον* is in apposition to both of the two following infinitives. Hence there is no occasion to 'supply ποιῆσαι.' Compare Phil. iii. § 11. p. 113 δει δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκείνους ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ μὴ οἰκεῖν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ.

Observe in what follows that the participles carry the main predication, and see § 7 note.

4. τὰ τούτων ἀμείνω, 'the better measures which he knew of.' The article is emphatic.

140. 8. καί, § 60 note.

11. τοὺς πολλοὺς.. λόγους, Aesch. c. Ct. §§ 115 sqq.

τὰ τῶν Ἀμφισσέων τῶν Λοκρῶν...

But there is none. And yet he must, as one of two only alternatives, either have failed to draft other measures in place of mine because he had no charge at that time to bring against my proceedings, or else have omitted to lay before you the better measures he knew of because he sought the advantage of our enemies.

Did he then refrain from speaking, as he did from pro-140 posals, the moment there was any call to do mischief? Nay rather, no one else had a chance to speak. And though, apparently, the city might have even been able to tolerate all the rest, or my opponent might have passed undetected in his doings, yet he perpetrated one further act, men of Athens, of such a nature that it crowned all that went before: and it was in defence of this that he expended those lengthy arguments, detailing the decrees about the Amphissian Locrians, with an intent to distort the truth. But the truth is not of a nature to be distorted. Impossible. Nor will you ever be able to wash away the guilt of your own deeds there—the ocean of your words will fail you.

In your presence, men of Athens, I call on all the gods and 141 goddesses who cherish the land of Attica, and on the Pythian Apollo, who is the city's gentile god, and I further pray unto all of these, if, on the one hand, I speak the truth to you—and I spoke at the time, too, without any delay, in the public assembly, as soon as I saw my polluted opponent fingering this business, for I found him out instantaneously—that they may give me prosperity and salvation; but if, on the other hand, to satisfy personal hatred, or on account of private animosity, I am bringing a false charge against him, that they will deprive me of the enjoyment of all blessings.

δόγματα. For this *objective* genitive compare Thuc. i. 140 τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα, 'the decree concerning the Megarians:' i. 61 ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων, ὅτι ἀφροστᾶσι.

We should have expected the proper names in inverse order. As they stand, unless τῶν Ἀμφισσέων be regarded as an explanatory note which has crept into the text, the article must be expunged before Λοκρῶν.

13. τὸ δ', i. e. τὰ ληθές.

τοιοῦτον refers, as it constantly does, to the last predication, which is here διαστρέψαν.

141. 18. πατρώος. Apollo was father of Ion, the progenitor of the Ionians.

20. καὶ εἶπον.. εὐθέως ἔγνω is in parenthesis. καὶ before τότε is omitted by Dind., which would leave εἶπον under the regimen of εἰ.

- 142 Τί οὖν ταῦτ' ἐπήραμαι καὶ διετεινάμην οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς; ὅτι γράμματ' ἔχων ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ κείμενα, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξω σαφῶς, καὶ ὑμᾶς εἰδῶς τὰ πεπραγμένα μνημονεύσοντας, ἐκείνο φοβοῦμαι, μὴ τῶν εἰργασμένων αὐτῷ κακῶν ὑποληφθῇ οὗτος ἐλάττων 5 ὅπερ πρότερον συνέβη, ὅτε τοὺς τάλαιπώρους Φωκέας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι τὰ ψευδῆ δεῦρ' ἀπαγγείλας.
- 143 τὸν γὰρ ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον, δι' ὃν εἰς Ἑλλάτιαν ἦλθε Φίλιππος καὶ δι' ὃν ἡρέθη τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἡγεμών, ὃς ἅπαντ' ἀνέτρεψε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὗτός 10 ἐστὶν ὁ συγκατασκευάσας καὶ πάντων εἰς ἀνὴρ τῶν μεγίστων αἴτιος κακῶν. καὶ τοτ' εὐθὺς ἐμοῦ διαμαρτυρομένου καὶ βοῶντος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ 'πόλεμον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσάγεις, Αἰσχίνη, πόλεμον Ἀμφικτυονικόν' οἱ μὲν ἐκ παρακλήσεως συγκαθήμενοι οὐκ 15 εἶπον με λέγειν, οἱ δ' ἐθαύμαζον καὶ κενὴν αἰτίαν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπάγειν με ὑπελάμβανον αὐτῷ.
- 144 ἦτις δ' ἡ φύσις ὧ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι γέγονε τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τίνος εἵνεκα ταῦτα συνεσκευάσθη καὶ πῶς ἐπράχθη, νῦν ὑπακούσατε, ἐπειδὴ τότε ἐκωλύθητε· καὶ γὰρ εὖ πράγμα συντεθὲν ὄψεσθε, καὶ

142. 2. Before γράμματα Dind. has καί = 'even though'.
ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ, § 103 καταβάλλοντα note.

4. μνημονεύσοντας. Dind. has μνημονεύοντας.

5. ἐλάττων. Compare Fals. Leg. § 32. p. 349 δὲ δὲ μὴδὲν ὑμῶν, ὧ ἀνδρες δικασταί, εἰς τὸ τῶν πραγμάτων μέγεθος ἀποβλέψαντα μείζους τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς τούτου δόξης νομίσαι.

143. 9. Ἀμφικτυόνων. The Ἀμφικτύονες, more properly Ἀμφικτιόνες, were associations of neighbouring peoples for common ends, generally religious. The Amphictyonic council,

best known to us and here meant, was instituted before the beginning of history; and among the twelve Hellenic tribes, which sent deputies and had equal voting power; some, especially the northern, had dwindled into insignificance in classical times. Two kinds of deputies were sent by each tribe, ἱερομνήμονες, who probably held their office for life and formed a permanent executive body, and πυλάγοροι or πυλάγοροι, periodically elected, who formed the βουλή proper. The former seemed to have assisted the deliberations of the latter as assessors (σύνεδροι), but without vote. The purposes of the league were,

Why, then, have I invoked these curses on myself and in-142
sisted so vehemently? Because, though I have documents
lying in the public archives out of which I shall prove these
statements definitely, and though I know that you will re-
member the transactions, one thing I fear, lest my opponent
be considered inadequate to the mischiefs he has wrought,—
the very mistake which occurred before, when he caused the
destruction of the unhappy Phocians by bringing hither
his false reports. For the war in Amphissa, in consequence 143
of which Philip came to Elatea and was chosen leader of the
Amphictyons, the war which wrecked all the fortunes of the
Hellenes, my opponent helped to set afoot, and in his single
person he is the cause of all the worst mischiefs. And when
at that time I at once protested and cried aloud in the assem-
bly, 'You are bringing war, Aeschines, an Amphictyonic war,
into Attica,' his packed advocates, on one side, prevented me
from speaking, and others were puzzled, and conceived that I
was bringing an empty charge against him on account of our
personal hostility. But I ask you now to hear with attention,
since at the time you were prevented from hearing, what has
been the real nature, men of Athens, of these transactions, 144
and with what purpose these plots were contrived, and how
they were carried out: for you will see a trick cleverly con-
certed, you will get great assistance for the study of your

generally, to secure complete amity
among the represented tribes; and, in
particular, to maintain the estate of
the temple of Apollo at Delphi. A
meeting (Πυλαία) was held each
autumn at the temple of Demeter at
Anthela near Thermopylae (Πύλαι),
and another each spring at Delphi.
A general assembly also (ἐκκλησία) of
all members of the constituent tribes
(τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων), who
might be present at the time in these
places, was occasionally convened.
Cf. Aesch. c. Ct. § 124 ἐκκλησίαν γὰρ
ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον τοὺς πυλα-
γόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας συγκαλέ-
σωσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνθύοντας καὶ

χρωμένους τῷ θέῳ.

10. ὅς, sc. πόλεμος. Voemel removes
the comma after ἡγεμόν = 'he was
chosen leader who,' etc.; but this
would require an emphatic antecedent
pronoun which is wanting here.

ἀνέτρεψε. See on ἀνατετραφότες,
§ 296.

15. οἱ . . . συγκαθήμενοι, literally,
'those who sat together having been
called into court by him as his sup-
porters.' παρακαλεῖν = *advocate*.

144. 19. εἵνεκα. Dind. has ἔνεκα.

20. ὑπακούσατε is hardly ever used
in the sense of the simple verb; hence
it would be better to read, with Dind.,
ἀκούσατε.

μεγάλα ὠφελήσεσθε πρὸς ἱστορίαν τῶν κοινῶν, καὶ ὅση δεινότης ἦν ἐν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, θεάσεσθε.

- 145 Οὐκ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου πέρας οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγὴ Φιλίππῳ, εἰ μὴ Θηβαίους καὶ Θετταλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιήσειε τῇ πόλει· ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἀθλίως καὶ κακῶς 5 τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων πολεμούντων αὐτῷ ὁμῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ληστῶν μυρία ἔπασχε κακά. οὔτε γὰρ ἐξήγετο τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνο-
- 146 μένων οὐδέν, οὔτ' εἰσήγετο ὧν ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ· ἦν δὲ οὔτ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τότε κρείττων ὑμῶν, οὔτ' εἰς τὴν 10 Ἀττικὴν ἐλθεῖν δυνατὸς μήτε Θετταλῶν ἀκολουθούντων μήτε Θηβαίων διέντων· συνέβαινε δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατοῦντι τοὺς ὁποιοσδήποτε ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμπετε στρατηγούς (ἐῷ γὰρ τοῦτό γε) αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει τοῦ
- 147 τόπου καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐκατέροις κακοπαθεῖν. εἰ 15 μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' ἐχθρας ἢ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς Θηβαίους συμπεῖθαι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, οὐδέν' ἂν ἡγείτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ἂν δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἡγεμὼν αἰρεθῇ, ῥᾶον ἤλπιζε τὰ μὲν πᾶρακρούσεσθαι τὰ δὲ πείσειν. τί οὖν; ἐπι- 20 χειρεῖ, θεάσασθ' ὥς εὔ, πόλεμον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ταραχὴν· εἰς γὰρ ταῦθ'
- 148 εὐθὺς αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτοῦ δεήσεσθαι. εἰ μὲν τοῖνυν τοῦτο ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων ἱερομνη-

1. ἱστορίαν = *cognitionem*.

145. 7. ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, § 9.

8. κακά. Fals. Leg. § 362. p. 442.

146. 9. αὐτῷ, if taken with τῷ πολέμῳ, will give a false antithesis to αὐτῇ τῇ φύσει: hence it is better taken as the object of συνέβαινε.

13. τοὺς ὁποιοσδήποτε . . . ἐῷ γὰρ τοῦτό γε. Compare § 21 note.

14. τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου. The 'geographical situation' of Attica rendered it unassailable by Philip, as it was

protected to the landward by the Thessalians and Thebans, and Philip's strength lay in his land forces. From a maritime attack he was deterred by the superiority of the Athenian navy.

147. 17. οὐδέν' ἂν . . . προσέξειν. Dind. omits ἂν here, as he does Lept. § 35. p. 467 οἷς ἂν ὁ νόμος βλάψῃν ὑμᾶς φαίνεται: in Fals. Leg. § 394. p. 450 τοὺς ὁποῖον ἂν ἐκείνῳ ποιήσαντας he reads with Shaefer ποιήσαντας, which is

national affairs, and you will be able to watch what masterly skill resided in Philip.

Philip had no means to conclude or escape from the war 145 with you, unless he made the Thebans and Thessalians hostile to Athens. Nay, although your generals conducted the campaign against him unluckily and unskilfully, nevertheless he suffered incalculable damage by the mere course of the war, and at the hands of the privateers. For he could export none of the products of his country nor import any of the supplies he required. And at that time he was neither your superior 146 by sea, nor able to march into Attica, unless the Thessalians came with him and the Thebans gave him a passage through their land. And it turned out that though in the field he conquered the indescribable generals whom you sent out—for I pass their character by—yet he was worsted by our geographical position and by the difference in the resources on either side. If, on the one hand, then, he should 147 attempt to persuade either the Thessalians or the Thebans to march against you to gratify his private animosity towards you, he thought that no one would give him a hearing; but, if he should take up their common cries and be chosen their leader, he hoped with greater ease partly to delude, partly to persuade them. What followed? He attempted, remark how skilfully, to create war among the Amphictyons and to raise a disturbance about the time of their meeting. For he conceived that they would at once require his assistance to meet these difficulties. He considered, accordingly, that if one of 148 the sacred deputies commissioned by himself, or one of his

supported by Fals. Leg. § 91. p. 366. In this speech, below, § 168, *συμπνευσόντων ἄν*, found in the MSS., is impossible, as the active form of the future of *συμπνέω* is not used. A few MSS. give *ἄν* . . . *προσέχειν* in the present passage. Shilleto (Fals. Leg. l.c.) denies the impossibility of the future with *ἄν*, and Jebb on Isae. Dicaeog. § 23, in 'Attic Orators,' accepts the usage as Thucydidean, on the strength

of the well-known instances, Thuc. ii. 8, v. 82, viii. 25, 71.

148. 24. *ἱερομνημόνων* seems to be used loosely here, and § 150, to signify 'Amphictyonic deputies' in general. Strictly only one *ἱερομνήμων* proper came from each state, and Philip would only send one. The most important members, too, of the *βουλῇ* were the *πυλάγοροι*.

μόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων εἰσηγοῖτό τις, ὑπόψε-
σθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς
Θετταλοὺς καὶ πάντας φυλάξεσθαι, ἂν δ' Ἀθηναῖος ἦ
καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν, εὐπώρας
λήσειν ὅπερ συνέβη. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν; 5

149 μισθοῦται τουτονί. οὐδενὸς δὲ προειδότης, οἶμαι, τὸ
πρᾶγμα οὐδὲ φυλάττοντος, ὥσπερ εἶωθε τὰ τοιαῦτα
παρ' ὑμῖν γίνεσθαι, προβληθεὶς πυλάγορος οὗτος καὶ
τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων χειροτονησάντων αὐτὸν ἀνερρήθη.
ὥς δὲ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα λαβὼν ἀφίκετο εἰς τοὺς 10
'Αμφικτύονας, πάντα τὰλλ' ἀφείς καὶ παριδὼν ἐπέ-
ραινεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐμισθώθη, καὶ λόγους εὐπροσώπους καὶ
μύθους, ὅθεν ἡ Κιρραία χώρα καθιερώθη, συνθεὶς καὶ
διεξελθὼν ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους λόγων καὶ τὸ μέλλον οὐ

150 προορωμένους, τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας, πείθει ψηφίσασθαι 15
περιελθεῖν τὴν χώραν ἣν οἱ μὲν Ἀμφισσεῖς σφῶν
αὐτῶν οὔσαν γεωργεῖν ἔφασαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς ἱερᾶς
χώρας ἡτιᾶτο εἶναι, οὐδεμίαν δίκην τῶν Λοκρῶν ἐπα-
γόντων ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ἂν νῦν οὗτος προφασίζεται, λέγων οὐκ
ἀληθῆ. γνῶσεσθε δ' ἐκεῖθεν. οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄνευ τοῦ 20
προσκαλέσασθαι δῆπου τοῖς Λοκροῖς δίκην κατὰ τῆς
πόλεως τελέσασθαι. τίς οὖν ἐκλήτευσεν ἡμᾶς; ἀπὸ
ποίας ἀρχῆς; εἶπε τὸν εἰδότη, δείξον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν
ἔχοις, ἀλλὰ κενῇ προφάσει ταύτη κατεχρῶ καὶ ψευδεῖ. 1

151 περιόντων τοίνυν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κατὰ 25
τὴν ὑφήγησιν τὴν τούτου, προσπεσόντες οἱ Λοκροὶ
μικροῦ κατηκόντισαν ἅπαντας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ συνήρ-

1. ἐκείνου is here used instead of αὐτοῦ for the sake of emphasis and distinctness: cf. §§ 136, 218, 230. (Dissen.)

εἰσηγοῖτο. Voemel, with many MSS., reads εἰσηγεῖτο = if one of his

allies had mooted the point. But to this the future ὑπόψεσθαι would be an unparalleled sequence.

149. 7. ὥσπερ .. γίνεσθαι, §§ 133, 134.

12. λόγους .. καὶ μύθους. Cf. Aesch.

allies, were to moot his proposal, the Thebans and the Thes-
 salians would suspect the trick and all would be on their
 guard; but if the agent were an Athenian and bore a com-
 mission from you, who were tinged with enmity against him,
he would easily pass undetected, as indeed was the case.
How then did he carry this out? He hired my opponent. 149
 Thus, when nobody, I suppose, foresaw or watched for the
 trick, as such matters generally fall out in your midst, my op-
 ponent was put forward as your representative at the congress,
 and three or four persons having shown their hands for him,
 was declared to be elected. But when, invested with the pres-
 tige of the state, he came to the Amphictyons, he let everything
 else slip, turned his eyes from his duty, and completed that
 for which he was hired; and having strung together and
told off some specious phrases and legends, explaining how
the Cirrhaean district came to be consecrated, he persuaded
the sacred deputies, men inexperienced in rhetoric and blind to
the future, to pass a decree to beat the bounds of the territory, 150
which the Amphissians said they cultivated because it be-
longed to them, but which my opponent alleged to belong to
the sacred demesne. And this though the Locrians were
 launching no suit against us nor doing any of the other things
 which my opponent now falsely alleges in explanation of his
 conduct! You will discover the falsehood from the following.
 It was impossible, I presume, for the Locrians to establish a
 suit against Athens without a citation. Who, then, served the
 citation on us? In whose archonship was it dated? Name
 or produce any one who can tell us. However you cannot do
 so; but in this you made a bad use of an unsubstantiated and
 lying pretext. To resume; while the Amphictyons were making 151
 the circuit of the demesne at the suggestion of my opponent,
 the Locrians fell upon them, and were within a little of shoot-
 ing down the whole number, and did actually hustle off certain

c. Ct. §§ 107 sqq.

150. 17. οὐσαν, § 7 note.

18. οὐδεμίαν . . ψευδεῖς is a paren-
 thesis (in answer to Aeschines, c. Ct.
 § 129), and the main topic is resumed
 by τοίνυν, § 151.

22. ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς; Dind. has
 ἐπί.

24. κενῇ. Many MSS. give καινῇ,
 which would mean 'invented for this
 occasion.'

151. 27. After μικροῦ Dind. has μέν.

πασαν τῶν ἱερομνημόνων. ὥς δ' ἅπαξ ἐκ τούτων
 ἐγκλήματα καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐτα-
 ράχθη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Κόττυφος αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀμφι-
 κτυόνων ἤγαγε στρατιάν, ὥς δ' οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, οἱ δ'
 ἐλθόντες οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν Πυλαίαν ἐπὶ 5
 τὸν Φίλιππον εὐθὺς ἡγεμόνα ἦγον οἱ κατεσκευασμένοι
 καὶ πάλαι πονηροὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς
 152 ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους εἰλήφεσαν
 ἥ γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰσφέρειν καὶ ξένους τρέφειν ἔφασαν
 δεῖν καὶ ζημιοῦν τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, ἥ ἐκεῖνον 10
 αἰρεῖσθαι. τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἥρέθη γὰρ ἐκ
 τούτων ἡγεμῶν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' εὐθέως δύναμιν συλ-
 λέξας καὶ παρελθὼν ὥς ἐπὶ τὴν Κιρραίαν, ἐρρώσθαι
 φράσας πολλὰ Κιρραίοις καὶ Λοκροῖς, τὴν Ἐλάτειαν
 153 καταλαμβάνει. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ μετέγνωσας εὐθέως, 15
 ὥς τοῦτ' εἶδον, οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγένοντο,
 ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἂν ἅπαν τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν εἰσέπεσεν· νῦν δὲ τό γ' ἐξαίφνης ἐπέσχον αὐτὸν
 ἐκεῖνοι, μάλιστα μὲν ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι θεῶν τινὸς
 εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, εἴτα μέντοι, καὶ ὅσον καθ' ἓνα 20
 ἄνδρα, καὶ δι' ἐμέ. Δὸς δέ μοι τὰ δόγματα ταῦτα
 καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ἕκαστα πέπρακται, ἵν' εἰδῇτε
 ἡλίκᾳ πράγματα ἢ μιὰρὰ κεφαλὴ ταραξάσα αὕτη
 154 δίκην οὐκ ἔδωκεν. λέγε μοι τὰ δόγματα.

ΔΟΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΩΝ. [Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλει- 25

ναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ
 τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν

5. οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν. So Aristoph. Frogs 662, Xanthias says, of Aeacus' fruitless flogging of his back and his master's back, οὐδὲν ποιεῖς γάρ, ἀλλὰ τὰς λαγόνας σπώδει.

ἐπὶ τὸν .. ἦγον, sc. τὰ πράγματα.

Cf. Phil. 3. § 57. p. 125 οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον.

152. 13. ἐρρώσθαι φράσας πολλά is used idiomatically of a flagrant neglect of duty: cf. c. Mid. § 39. p.

of the sacred deputies. And when, once for all, in consequence of this, charges and hostilities became violent against the Amphissians, at first Cottyphus led an army composed of the Amphictyons only; but when some did not come, and any who came did nothing effectual, the trained and veteran villains among the Thessalians and the statesmen in the other cities, in view of the coming congress, proposed to hand affairs immediately to Philip as leader. They had 152 indeed selected specious pretences: for they said it was necessary either for the Amphictyons themselves to make an extraordinary contribution and maintain foreign mercenaries and penalise defaulters, or else to elect Philip. Why need I tell the whole long story? In consequence of these things he was elected leader. And when, immediately afterwards, he had collected a force and had advanced ostensibly against the Cirrhaean district, he bade a hearty farewell to Cirrhaeans, and Locrians, and captured Elatea. If, then, the Thebans, 153 on seeing this, had not instantly changed their purpose and sided with us, this whole plot would have swept down on the city like a winter torrent; but, as it was, they held him at bay, at least for the moment, thanks primarily to the benevolence of some god towards you, men of Athens, but under Providence, and, as far as lay in one man's province, through my agency also. [*To the clerk.*] Hand me these decrees and the dates on which each set of transactions has taken place, that my hearers may know what monstrous troubles this polluted creature aggravated with impunity. Please read the decrees.

154

DECREES OF THE AMPHICTYONS.

In the priesthood of Clinagoras, at the spring assembly, it was resolved by the representatives and the assessors of the Amphictyons and the general body of the Amphictyons, Whereas the

526 ἐρρῶσθαι πολλὰ τοῖς νόμοις εἰπὼν καὶ ὑμῖν (spoken of an illegal compromise), and Fals. Leg. § 278. p. 419 ἐρρῶσθαι πολλὰ φράσας τῷ σοφῷ Σοφοκλεῖ (where 'Creon-Aeschines' forgets the principles he used to declaim in the Antigone).

153. 18. τό γ' ἐξαίφνης perhaps implies that the Thebans not only checked Philip 'for the moment,' but also 'bore the brunt' of his sudden attack.

20. εἶτα μέντοι, § 1 note.

23. ταράξασα, § 7 note.

Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφισσεῖς ἐπιβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ βοσκήμασι κατανέμουσιν, ἐπελθεῖν τοὺς πυλαγόρους καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους, καὶ στήλαις διαλαβεῖν τοὺς ὄρους, καὶ ἀπειπεῖν τοῖς Ἀμφισσεῦσι τοῦ λοιποῦ μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν.

5

155 ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΔΟΓΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλειναγόρου, ἑαρινῆς Πυλαίας, ἔδοξε τοῖς πυλαγόροις καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξ Ἀμφίσσης τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατανειμάμενοι γεωργοῦσι καὶ βοσκήματα νέμονται, καὶ κωλυόμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις παραγενόμενοι, τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον κεκωλύκασιν μετὰ βίας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τετραυματίκασιν, τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἡρημέ- 10 νον τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Κόττυφον τὸν Ἀρκάδα πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς Φίλιππον τὸν Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἀξιοῦν ἵνα βοηθήσῃ τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν, ὅπως μὴ περιίδῃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν Ἀμφισσέων τὰν θεὸν πλημμελούμενον· καὶ διότι αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αἰροῦνται οἱ Ἕλληνες οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων.] 20

Λέγε δὴ καὶ τοὺς χρόνους ἐν οἷς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· εἰσὶ γὰρ καθ' οὗς ἐπυλαγόρησεν οὗτος. λέγε.

ΧΡΟΝΟΙ. [Ἀρχων Μνησιθείδης, μηνὸς ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ.]

156 Δὸς δὴ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἦν, ὥς οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν οἱ 25 Θηβαῖοι, πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ συμμάχους ὁ Φίλιππος, ἵν' εἰδῇτε καὶ ἐκ ταύτης σαφῶς ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὑμᾶς πράττειν, ἀπεκρύπτετο, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι 30

155. 14. Ἀρκάδα. The Arcadians were not among the Amphictyonic tribes. Aeschines, c. Ct. § 128, calls

Cottyphus τὸν Φαρσάλιον.

18. διότι for ὅτι, cf. §§ 167, 184, is post-classical.

Amphissians trespass upon the demesne and sow it and depasture it with their flocks, that the representatives and the assessors should go to the spot and mark out the boundaries with pillars, and forbid the Amphissians to commit trespass for the future.

ANOTHER DECREE.

In the priesthood of Clinagoras, at the spring assembly, it was 155 resolved by the representatives and the assessors of the Amphictyons and the general body of the Amphictyons, Whereas the inhabitants of Amphissa have portioned out among themselves the sacred demesne and cultivate it and feed their flocks upon it, and, when prevented from doing this, have appeared in arms and have violently obstructed the common assembly of the Hellenes, and have even wounded certain of its members, that the elected commander of the Amphictyons, Cotyphus the Arcadian, should go as ambassador to Philip of Macedon, and should require him to send assistance both to Apollo and to the Amphictyons, that he may not overlook the offence done to the deity by the impious Amphissians: and tell him that the Hellenes who participate in the assembly of the Amphictyons elect him as general with sole command.

Now quote also the periods within which these measures took place: for they correspond with the periods during which my opponent was your representative. Please read.

therefore

DATES.

In the archonship of Mnesithides, on the sixteenth of the month Anthesterion.

Now give me the letter which, when the Thebans did not 156 respond, Philip sent to his allies in the Peloponnese, that my hearers may know clearly from this also that he kept out of sight the true motive for these transactions, namely, that he was doing this to the injury of Hellas, and of the Thebans, and of you, and pretended to be executing international measures decreed by the Amphictyons. And the man who

24. ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ. Dind. has ἐπὶ δέκα. The archon is pseudonymous, and the date is a blank.

156. 25. ὑπήκουσαν. Dind. has

ὑπήκουον.

26. συμμάχους. Arcadians, Messenians, Argives, Eleans.

δόξαντα ποιεῖν προσεποιεῖτο· ὁ δὲ τὰς ἀφορμὰς ταύ-
 τας καὶ τὰς προφάσεις αὐτῷ παρασχὼν οὗτος ἦν.
 λέγε.

157 ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ. [Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Πελο-
 ποννησίῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς δημιουργοῖς καὶ τοῖς 5
 συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι χαίρειν.
 ἐπειδὴ Λοκροὶ οἱ καλούμενοι Ὀζόλαι, κατοικοῦντες ἐν
 Ἀμφίσσῃ, πλημμελοῦσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος
 τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν ἐρχόμενοι μεθ'
 ὄπλων λεηλατοῦσι, βούλομαι τῷ θεῷ μεθ' ὑμῶν βοηθεῖν 10
 καὶ ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς παραβαίνοντάς τι τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις
 εὖσεβῶν· ὥστε συναντᾶτε μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων εἰς τὴν
 Φωκίδα, ἔχοντες ἐπισιτισμὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα,
 τοῦ ἐνεστώτος μηνὸς λῶον, ὥς ἡμεῖς ἄγομεν, ὥς δὲ
 Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηδρομῶντος, ὥς δὲ Κορίνθιοι, πανέμου. 15
 τοῖς δὲ μὴ συναντήσασι πανδημεὶ χρησόμεθα, τοῖς δὲ
 συμβούλοις ἡμῖν κειμένοις ἐπιζημίους. εὐτυχεῖτε.]

158 Ὅραθ' ὅτι φεύγει τὰς ἰδίας προφάσεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς
 Ἀμφικτυονικὰς καταφεύγει. τίς οὖν ὁ ταῦτα συμ-
 παρασκευάσας αὐτῷ; τίς ὁ τὰς προφάσεις ταύτας 20
 ἐνδούς; τίς ὁ τῶν κακῶν τῶν γεγεννημένων μάλιστα
 αἴτιος; οὐχ οὗτος; μὴ τοίνυν λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι, περιμόντες ὥς ὑφ' ἐνὸς τοιαῦτα πέπονθεν ἡ
 Ἑλλὰς ἀνθρώπου. οὐχ ὑφ' ἐνός, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν
 159 καὶ πονηρῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις, ὧ γῇ καὶ θεοί· ὧν εἷς 25
 οὗτοσί, ὅν, εἰ μὴδὲν εὐλαβηθέντα τάληθες εἰπεῖν δέοι,
 οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι ἔγωγε κοινὸν ἀλιτῆριον τῶν μετὰ
 ταῦτα ἀπολωλότων ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων τόπων

157. 14. μηνός. The months do not (see Dict. of Antiq., CALENDARIUM) correspond as here stated.

16. τοῖς δὲ . . κειμένοις is bracketed by Dind. as unintelligible, and ἐπιζημίους is taken to mean 'as subject to penalty' in agreement with τοῖς μὴ

συναντήσασι. This is hardly necessary, as the text, though awkward, yields a possible construction. For the distinction drawn between the ministerial advisers of a nation and the people at large see §§ 78, 166, and for ἡμῖν κειμένοις see § 77: ἐπιζήμια as a sub-

furnished him with these bases of operation and these pretexts was my opponent. Please read.

LETTER.

Philip, king of the Macedonians, to the public officers and the 157 assessors of the Peloponnesians who are in his alliance, and to his other allies generally, greeting. Whereas those Locrians who are surnamed Ozolian, dwelling in Amphissa, transgress against the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and coming in arms make spoil of the sacred demesne, I wish in conjunction with you to bring assistance to the deity and to repel those who profane aught considered religious among mankind. Therefore meet me in arms in Phocis, with provisions for forty days, during the present month Lous, as we keep it, or Boëdromion, as the Athenians keep it, or Panemus, as the Corinthians keep it. And those who shall have failed to meet us we will deal with nationally, but their advisers we will deal with by means of our established penalties. Fare ye well.

You see that he avoids personal pretexts and takes shelter 158 with those of the Amphictyons. Who then helped him to acquire these resources? Who was it that put these pretexts into his power? Who is it that is mainly responsible for the evils that have resulted? Is it not my opponent? Do not therefore go about and say, men of Athens, that Hellas has suffered so terribly at the hands of one man. Not at the hands of one, but—as earth and heaven can witness—at the hands of many villains in each community: among them, my 159 opponent here, whom, if I must speak the truth without any reservation, I should not hesitate to call the universal bane of all we subsequently lost, men, districts, and cities. For

stantive, 'penalties,' is used by Plato. The chief difficulty lies in πανδημεί, which most naturally would go with συναντήσασσι, but may just possibly attach to χρησόμεθα. Emendations are numerous, but rather thrown away on a probably corrupt passage in what

is almost certainly a forgery.

158. 24. ἐνός, i. e. Φιλίππου.

25. Before παρ' ἐκάστοις Dind. has τῶν.

159. 27. ἀλιτήριον. Comp. Aesch. c. Ct. § 131 τίνος οὖν ζημίας ἄξιός ἐστι τυχεῖν, ᾧ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλιτήριε;

*generous
immediato*

πόλεων ὁ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα παρασχών, οὗτος τῶν φύντων
κακῶν αἰτίος. ὃν ὅπως ποτὲ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἰδόντες ἀπε-
στράφητε, θαυμάζω· πλὴν πολὺ τι σκότος, ὥς ἔοικεν,
ἐστὶ παρ' ὑμῖν πρὸ τῆς ἀληθείας.

- 160 Συμβέβηκε τοίνυν μοι τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος 5
τούτῳ πεπραγμένων ἀψαμένῳ εἰς ἃ τοῦτοις ἐναντιού-
μενος αὐτὸς πεπολίτευμαι ἀφίχθαι· ἃ πολλῶν μὲν
ἐνεκ' ἂν εἰκότως ἀκούσαιτέ μου, μάλιστα δ' ὅτι αἰσχρὸν
ἐστίν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόνων ὑπέμεινα, ὑμεῖς δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς λόγους 10
161 αὐτῶν ἀνέξεσθε. ὁρῶν γὰρ ἐγὼ Θηβαίους, σχεδὸν δὲ
καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ Φιλίππου φρονούντων καὶ διε-
φθαρμένων παρ' ἑκατέροις ὃ μὲν ἦν ἀμφοτέροις φοβερὸν
καὶ φυλακῆς πολλῆς δεόμενον, τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ἔαν
αὐξάνεσθαι, παρορῶντας καὶ οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν φυλαττο- 15
μένους, εἰς ἔχθραν δὲ καὶ τὸ προσκρούειν ἀλλήλοις
ἐτοιμῶς ἔχοντας, ὅπως τοῦτο μὴ γένοιτο παρατηρῶν
διετέλουν, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑμαυτοῦ γνώμης μόνον ταῦτα
162 συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνων, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ
πάλιν Εὐβουλον πάντα τὸν χρόνον βουλομένους πρᾶξαι 20
ταύτην τὴν φιλίαν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλάκις ἀντι-
λέγοντας τοῦθ' ὁμογνωμονοῦντας αἰεὶ. οὓς σὺ ζῶντας
μὲν, ὧ κίναδος, κολακεύων παρηκολούθεις, τεθνεώτων
δ' οὐκ αἰσθάνει κατηγορῶν· ἃ γὰρ περὶ Θηβαίων
ἐπιτιμᾶς ἐμοί, ἐκείνων πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς, 25
τῶν πρότερον ἢ ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν συμμαχίαν δοκιμασάν-
163 των. ἀλλ' ἐκέισε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι τὸν ἐν Ἀμφίσσῃ πόλεμον

2. κακῶν is omitted by Dind.

160. 9. τὰ ἔργα τῶν . . πόνων. Thuc.
i. 22 τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων is gene-
rally quoted as parallel: there how-
ever the contrast is between the
speeches that were delivered and the
military *operations* that were con-

ducted in the Peloponnesian War, not,
as here, between the actual perform-
ance and the mere narration of a
deed.

162. 20. πάλιν = 'ex altera parte.'
Aristophon was the aristocratic, Eu-
bulus the democratic leader. Cf. § 198.

he who provided the seed is responsible for the crop of mischief. I marvel that you did not turn with loathing from him the first time you saw him: unless it be, as it appears, that a certain great darkness lies about you, screening the truth.

Thus it has come about that by handling the crimes committed by my opponent against his country I have reached the public measures which I myself took to thwart them. These measures you will reasonably hear from me on many grounds, but principally because it is unhandsome, men of Athens, if after I sustained the fatigue of these labours on your behalf, you will not bear patiently with their mere recital. When I saw that the Thebans, and I might almost add you also, under the influence of those who held Philip's views, or rather had been corrupted in each community, neglected, on the one hand, a danger that was formidable to both of you and required to be carefully guarded against—the danger of suffering Philip to increase in power,—and in no way took means for your protection, but were ripe for hostility and collision with one another, I continued closely on the watch to prevent this occurring. Not that I conceived this to be expedient on the strength of my own judgment only, but because I knew that Aristophon and his rival on the popular side, Eubulus, wished throughout to form a friendly union for this end, and though they often spoke against one another on other matters were always unanimous in this. These men, fox! you flattered and followed humbly during their lifetime, yet fail to perceive that you are accusing them after their death: for where you censure me on the score of the Thebans, you accuse, far more than you accuse me, those men who, long before my time, had sanctioned this alliance. But I will return to the proposition before stated, that,

21. ^{or} *φιλίαν*, i.e. with Thebes.

After *ἀντιλέγοντας* Dind. has *ἐαυτοῖς*.

24. *αἰσθάνει*. An old emendation is *αἰσχύνη*, but this is against the context, the point being that Aeschines unconsciously accuses those whom he

used to flatter.

163. 27. τὸν πόλεμον . . τὴν ἔχθραν. An instance of chiasmus, which is rare in Demosthenes: cf. § 172 *ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη*. Two other apparent instances, §§ 87, 102, are probably due to false readings. See on §§ 317, 324.

center

breaking

τούτου μὲν ποιήσαντος, συμπερα^{να}μένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν συνεργῶν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν, συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον ἐλθεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐπερ ἔνεκα τὰς πόλεις οὗτοι συνέκρουον, καὶ εἰ μὴ προεξανέστημεν μικρόν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἂν ἡδυνήθημεν· οὕτω μέχρι πόρρω 5 προήγαγον οὗτοι τὴν ἔχθραν. ἐν οἷς δ' ἦτε ἤδη τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τουτωνὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀκούσαντες καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων εἴσεσθε. Καί μοι λέγε ταῦτα λαβόν.

- 164 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ. [Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς 10 ἐλαφιβολιῶνος ἕκτη φθίνοντος, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Ἐρεχθίδος, βουλῆς καὶ στρατηγῶν γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ἂς μὲν κατείληφε πόλεις τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων, τινὰς δὲ πορθεῖ, κεφαλᾷ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρασκευάζεται παραγίγνεσθαι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγούμενος τὰς ἡμετέρας συν- 15 θήκας, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους λύειν ἐπιβάλλεται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, παραβαίνων τὰς κοινὰς πίστεις, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρέσβεις, οἵτινες αὐτῷ διαλέξονται καὶ παρακαλέσουσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁμόνοϊαν διατηρεῖν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, 20 εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὸ βουλευέσασθαι δοῦναι χρόνον τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι μέχρι τοῦ θαρρηλιῶνος μηνός. ἡρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Σῖμος Ἀγαγυράσιος, Εὐθύδημος Φλυάσιος, Βουλαγόρας Ἀλωπεκῆθεν.

- 165 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ἡροπύθου, μηνὸς μου- 25 νυχιῶνος ἔτη καὶ νέα, πολεμάρχου γνώμη, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος εἰς ἀλλοτριότητα Θηβαίους πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιβάλλεται καταστήσαι, παρεσκεύασται δὲ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι

Such arrangements of words, when they occur in Greek, are probably due to the mere passion for variety, not, as in Latin, to the love for balanced expressions and antithesis. Greek is saved from the necessity of marking antithesis by the position of words,

thanks to its wealth of particles.

2. πρὸς Θηβαίους may either mean 'on the part of' or 'towards' the Thebans: see on § 36.

5. After ἀναλαβεῖν some MSS. have αὐτοὺς = ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς.

7. ψηφισμάτων .. ἀποκρίσεων. The

οὕτω μέχρη ἔργων ὑποσημασθὲν οὐδὲν
ἦν ἐχθρὰν

in consequence of my opponent having created the war at Amphissa, and the others, who cooperated with him, having brought your hatred against the Thebans to a head, it came about that Philip advanced against us, the very object for which these men were embroiling the states; and if we had not started from our lethargy a little before Philip's arrival we should not have been able to recover; to such an extreme had my opponents precipitated the hatred between Athens and Thebes. And the relations in which you already stood to one another you will discern when you have listened to the following decrees and replies. [*To the clerk.*] Please take and read me these.

DECREES.

In the archonship of Heropythus, on the twenty-fifth day of the 164 month Elaphebolion, during the prytanyship of the tribe Erechtheis, in accordance with the resolution of the council and the generals, Whereas Philip has captured some of the neighbouring cities and is besieging others, and in fine is preparing to take the field for the invasion of Attica, making no account of our covenants, and is taking steps to violate the oaths and the peace, transgressing our mutual pledges, It hath been resolved by the council and the people to send ambassadors to him, to confer with him and exhort him, best of all, to strictly observe his concord with us and the covenants, but, failing that, to give the city time to deliberate and to extend the armistice until the month Thargelion. There were chosen out of the council Simus of the deme Anagyrus, Euthydemus of the deme Phlyes, Bulagoras of the deme Alopex.

DECREE.

In the archonship of Heropythus, on the last day of the month 165 Munychion, in accordance with the resolution of the military archon, Whereas Philip is taking steps to set the Thebans at variance with us, and has prepared to come with his whole army

documents that follow are utterly irrelevant. They should have referred to hostile feelings and fruitless negotiations between Athens and Thebes, as we see also from § 168. The archon is pseudonymous.

164. 11. ἔκτῃ φθίνοντος = 25th, § 37 note.

13. ἄς μὲν, § 182, is late Greek.

22. τὰς ἀνοχάς, i. e. continue the existing truce.

165. 26. ἐνῇ καὶ νέα, § 29 note.

πρὸς τοὺς ἔγγιστα τῆς Ἀττικῆς παραγίγνεσθαι τόπους, παραβαίνων τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ συνθήκας, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις, οἵτινες ἀξιώσουσι καὶ παρακαλέ-
σουσιν αὐτὸν ποιήσασθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὅπως ἐνδεχομένως 5
ὁ δῆμος βουλευσῇται· καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐ κέκρικε βοηθεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν μετρίων. ἡρέθησαν ἐκ βουλῆς Νέαρχος Σωσινόμου, Πολυκράτης Ἐπίφρονος, καὶ κῆρυξ Εὐνομος, Ἀναφλύστιος ἐκ τοῦ δήμου.]

166 Λέγε δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

10

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ. [ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙΣ. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἦν μὲν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἴχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αἵρεσιν, οὐκ ἄγνω, καὶ τίνα σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθε προσκαλέσασθαι βουλόμενοι Θετταλοὺς καὶ Θηβαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτούς· βέλτιον 15
δ' αὐτῶν φρονούντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν αἵρεσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἱσταμένων, νῦν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποστείλαντες ὑμεῖς πρὸς με πρέσβεις καὶ κήρυκα συνθηκῶν μνημονεύετε καὶ τὰς ἀνοχὰς αἰτεῖσθε, κατ' οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπλημ- 20
μελημένοι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τῶν πρεσβευτῶν συγκατατίθεμαι τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ ἔτοιμός εἰμι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνοχάς, ἃν περ τοὺς οὐκ ὀρθῶς συμβουλευοντας ὑμῖν παραπέμψαντες τῆς προσηκούσης ἀτιμίας ἀξιώσητε. ἔρρωσθε.

25

167 ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΙΣ. Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος Θηβαίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. ἐκομισάμην τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολήν, δι' ἧς μοι τὴν ὁμόνοϊαν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. πυνθάνομαι μέντοι διότι πᾶσαν ὑμῖν Ἀθηναῖοι προσφέρονται φιλοτιμίαν 30
βουλόμενοι ὑμᾶς συγκαταίνους γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρακαλουμένοις. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ὑμῶν κατεγίνωσκον

167. 29. καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνανεοῦσθε. Dind. reads ἀνανεοῦσθε καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην

also to the districts which are nearest to Attica, transgressing the covenants already contracted by him with us, It hath been resolved by the council and the people to send to him a herald and ambassadors, to require and exhort him to continue the armistice, in order that the people may deliberate according to circumstances : for as yet they have decided not to send assistance in the event of any reasonable terms. There were chosen out of the council Nearchus, son of Sosinomus, Polycrates, son of Epiphron, and, as herald, Eunomus, of the deme Anaphlystus, out of the commons.

Now read the replies also.

166

REPLIES.

Philip, king of the Macedonians, to the council and commons of the Athenians, greeting. I am not unaware of the choice of action which you have taken from the beginning towards us, and what exertions you make wishing to call to your side the Thesalians and the Thebans, and still further the Boeotians also : but since they are better minded and are not willing to make their own choice at your bidding, but take their stand on the side of expediency, you now, wheeling round, and having despatched to me ambassadors and a herald, remind me of covenants and ask for the armistice, though you have in no respect been outraged by us. However, having heard the ambassadors, I coincide with their exhortations and am ready to extend the armistice, if only you will dismiss those who advise you wrongly, and degrade them as they deserve. Farewell.

REPLY TO THE THEBANS.

Philip, king of the Macedonians, to the council and people of the Thebans, greeting. I have received your letter, in which you renew your concord with me, and the peace. I learn, however, that the Athenians are bringing to bear upon you every kind of ambitious motive, wishing that you should become abettors in the matters to which they exhort you. Thus, though in former times

ὅντως ἐμοὶ ποιεῖτε, from an emendation suggested by the corrupt reading in Σ.

ἐπὶ τῷ μέλλειν πείθεσθαι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἐλπίσι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ προαιρέσει. νῦν δ' ἐπιγνοὺς ὑμᾶς τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐζητηκότας ἔχειν εἰρήνην μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἐτέρων ἐπακολουθεῖν γνώμας, ἥσθην καὶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ κατὰ πολλά, μάλιστα δ' ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευσασθαι 5 περὶ τούτων ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ· ὅπερ οὐ μικρὰν ὑμῖν οἴσειν ἐλπίζω ῥοπήν, ἐάν περ ἐπὶ ταύτης μένητε τῆς προθέσεως. ἔρρωσθε.]

168 Οὕτω διαθεὶς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ 10 ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὥς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἂν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων. ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸν τότε συμβάντα ἐν τῇ πόλει θόρυβον ἵστε μὲν ἅπαντες, μικρὰ δ' ἀκούσατε ὅμως, αὐτὰ τάναγ- 15 καιότατα.

169 Ἐσπέρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις ὥς τοὺς πρυτάνεις ὥς Ἑλάτεια κατεῖληπται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξαναστάντες μεταξὺ δειπνοῦντες τοὺς τ' 20 ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐξεῖργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρασαν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς μετεπέμποντο καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἐκάλουν, καὶ θορύβου πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις. τῇ δ' ὕστεραία ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ μὲν πρυτάνεις τὴν βουλὴν ἐκάλουν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὑμεῖς δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπορεύεσθε, 25 καὶ πρὶν ἐκείνην χρηματίσαι καὶ προβουλευσαι πᾶς ὁ 170 δῆμος ἄνω καθῆτο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὥς ἦλθεν ἡ βουλὴ

168. 13. συμπνευσάντων ἂν, cf. § 147 note.

15. αὐτὰ τάναγκαιότατα, § 126.

169. 17. ἔσπέρα μὲν is answered by τῇ δ' ὕστεραία.

19. δειπνοῦντες, sc. ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ.

20. τὰ γέρρα can hardly have been

the hurdles used to fence in the assembly, and to close the streets while it sat: as to burn these could serve no purpose. Probably the stalls and booths in the market-place are meant. These would be burnt as a quick mode of clearing the ground; and their con-

I condemned you for being ready to fall in with their hopes and follow their principles, now, on the other hand, since I have discovered that you in your relations to us have striven to retain the peace rather than follow the judgments of strangers, I have been delighted, and now warmly compliment you on many accounts, especially on the ground that you have come to a safer determination on this subject and keep your relations to us friendly : which, indeed, I think will bring to you no slight preponderance of advantage, if only you abide by this purpose. Farewell.

Having thus disposed the states one to another by these **168** means, and having been elated by these decrees and replies, Philip had come in force and captured Elatea, thinking that, whatever happened, we and the Thebans would never blow the same way. Of course you are all acquainted with the bewilderment which then arose in the city ; nevertheless, let me recall to you, in brief, merely the most indispensable facts.

At evening a man had come to the prytanes bringing the **169** news 'Elatea has been captured!' On this, some of them started up at once in the midst of their meal, and excluded the market people from their booths in the market-place, and burned the wicker frames ; while others summoned the generals, and called the state-herald, and the city was full of bewilderment. By daybreak the next morning, while the prytanes convened the council in the council-hall, you were on your way to the assembly ; and before the council had concluded business and had drawn up their previous resolution all the commons were in session on the hill. When, after this, **170**

flagration would also act as a signal-fire to rouse the country.

27. *ἄνω*, on a hill (S.W. of the Acropolis, and sometimes wrongly named mount Lycabettus), where the *Πρύξ* was situated. The Pnyx was a semi-

circular space, paved and levelled, bounded on the south by a great wall, near which stood the *βῆμα*, a high stone platform, ascended by steps, from which the speakers addressed the assembly.

καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰ προσηγγελμένα ἑαυ-
 τοῖς καὶ τὸν ἤκοντα παρήγαγον ἀκεῖνος εἶπεν, ἡρώτα
 μὲν ὁ κῆρυξ ‘ τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται; ’ παρῆει δ’ οὐ-
 δείς. πολλάκις δὲ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον
 ἀνίστατ’ οὐδείς, ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν στρατηγῶν παρόντων, 5
 ἀπάντων δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων, καλούσης δὲ [τῆς κοινῆς]
 πατρίδος [φωνῆς] τὸν ἐροῦνθ’ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας· ἦν γὰρ ὁ
 κῆρυξ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους φωνὴν ἀφήσει, ταύτην κοινὴν
 171 τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καίτοι εἰ μὲν
 τοὺς σωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν βουλομένους παρελθεῖν ἔδει, 10
 πάντες ἂν ὑμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναστάντες ἐπὶ
 τὸ βῆμα ἐβαδίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἶδ’ ὅτι σωθῆναι
 αὐτὴν ἐβούλεσθε· εἰ δὲ τοὺς πλουσιωτάτους, οἱ τρια-
 κόσιοι· εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμφοτέρωτα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐνοὺς τῇ
 πόλει καὶ πλουσίους, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὰς μεγάλας ἐπι- 15
 δόσεις ἐπιδόντες· καὶ γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ πλούτῳ τοῦτ’
 172 ἐποίησαν. ἀλλ’ ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἡ
 ἡμέρα ἐκείνη οὐ μόνον εὐνοὺν καὶ πλούσιον ἄνδρα
 ἐκάλει, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς πράγμασιν
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ συλλελογισμένον ὀρθῶς τίνος ἕνεκα 20
 — ταῦτ’ ἔπραττεν ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ τί βουλόμενος· ὁ γὰρ
 μὴ ταῦτ’ εἰδὼς μηδ’ ἐξητακῶς πόρρωθεν, οὔτ’ εἰ εὐνοὺς
 ἦν οὔτ’ εἰ πλούσιος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἤμελλεν ὅ τι χρῆ
 173 ποιεῖν εἴσεσθαι οὐδ’ ὑμῖν ἔξειν συμβουλεύειν. ἐφάνην
 τοῖνυν οὗτος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγώ, καὶ παρελθὼν 25
 εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, ἃ μου δυοῖν ἕνεκ’ ἀκούσατε προσσχόντες
 τὸν νοῦν, ἐνὸς μὲν, ἵν’ εἰδῆτε ὅτι μόνος τῶν λεγόντων
 καὶ πολιτευομένων ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς εὐνοίας τάξιν ἐν τοῖς

170. 6. τῆς .. φωνῆς. Dind. has
 τῆς πατρίδος τῇ κοινῇ φωνῇ. The text
 τῆς κοιῆς πατρίδος φωνῆς is barely
 Greek.

171. 11. ὑμεῖς, i. e. οἱ δικασταί.

13. οἱ τριακόσιοι, § 102 note.

15. ἐπιδόσεις, § 112 note.

172. 17. ἐκεῖνος .. ἐκείνη, § 163 note.

the council had entered and the prytanes had reported the tidings which had been brought them, and had introduced the messenger, and he had told his tale, the herald began to ask, 'Who wishes to address the assembly?' But no one came forward. And though the herald put the question again and again, none the more did any one arise, although all the generals and all the public orators were present, and the common voice of our native land demanded some one to speak for her deliverance. For the voice which the herald emits in accordance with the laws should rightly be regarded as the common voice of our native land. Yet if those ought to have come forward who wished the state to be delivered, you, my hearers, and the rest of the Athenians would all have arisen and walked to the platform, for I know that you all wished her to be delivered. If those that were richest were called for, the Three Hundred would have responded; if those that had both these qualifications, that is, were both loyal to the state and rich, then they would have come forward who afterwards gave the famous great donations,—for this they did because of their loyalty and by means of their wealth. But that crisis and that day, as it appeared, called for the help not only of a loyal and wealthy man, but also of one who had closely followed the transactions from their commencement and had rightly inferred for what reason and with what wish Philip was thus acting; for one who did not know Philip's motives and had not traced them a long way back, however loyal and however wealthy he might be, was none the more likely to know what must be done nor be competent to advise you. On that day, therefore, I showed myself the man of the hour: and I came forward and said to you what I beg you to hear with attention now for two reasons,—first, that you may know that I alone among your speakers and politicians did not abandon the post of patriotism in the hour of peril, but

19. παρηκολουθηκότα. Cf. Fals. Leg. § 291. p. 423 ὁ τὰ τοῦτου πονη-
ρεύματ' ἀκριβέστατα εἰδὼς ἐγὼ καὶ παρη-
κολουθηκὼς ἅπασι.

22. After πόρρωθεν Dind. has ἐπιμε-
λῶς.

173. 25. οὗτος = τοιοῦτος, cf. § 282.

- δεινοῖς οὐκ ἔλιπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγων καὶ γράφων ἐξη-
 ταζόμεν τὰ δέονθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φοβεροῖς,
 ἐτέρου δέ, ὅτι μικρὸν ἀναλώσαντες χρόνον πολλῶ πρὸς
 τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς πάσης πολιτείας ἔσεσθ' ἐμπειρότεροι.
- 174 εἶπον τοίνυν ὅτι 'τοὺς μὲν ὡς ὑπαρχόντων Θηβαίων 5
 Φιλίππῳ λίαν θορυβουμένους ἀγνοεῖν τὰ παρόντα
 πράγμαθ' ἡγοῦμαι· εὖ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως
 ἐτύγχανεν ἔχον, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν ἡκούομεν ἐν Ἑλατεῖα
 ὄντα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁρίοις. ὅτι μέντοι ἴν'
 ἔτοιμα ποιήσεται τὰ ἐν Θήβαις ἥκει, σαφῶς ἐπίστα- 10
- 175 μαι. ὡς δ' ἔχει' ἔφην 'ταῦτα, ἀκούσατέ μου. ἐκεῖ-
 νος ὅσους ἢ πείσαι χρήμασι Θηβαίων ἢ ἐξαπατήσας
 ἐνῆν, ἅπαντας εὐτρέπιστα, τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀν-
 θεστηκότας αὐτῷ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιουμένους οὐδαμῶς
 πείσαι δύναται. τί οὖν βούλεται, καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα 15
 τὴν Ἑλάτειαν κατεῖληφεν; πλησίον δύναμιν δείξας
 καὶ παραστήσας τὰ ὄπλα τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους
 ἐπᾶραι καὶ θρασεῖς ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντιουμένους
 καταπληξαι, ἴν' ἢ συγχωρήσωσι φοβηθέντες ἢ νῦν
- 176 οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἢ βιασθῶσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν προαιρησό- 20
 μεθ' ἡμεῖς' ἔφην 'ἐν τῷ παρόντι, εἴ τι δύσκολον
 πέπρακται Θηβαίοις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τούτου μεμνήσθαι καὶ
 ἀπιστεῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὔσι μερίδι,
 πρῶτον μὲν ἂν εὖξαιτο Φίλιππος ποιήσομεν, εἴτα
 φοβοῦμαι μὴ προσδεξαμένων τῶν νῦν ἀνθεστηκότων 25
 αὐτῷ καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ πάντων φιλιππισάντων εἰς τὴν
 Ἀττικὴν ἔλθωσιν ἀμφοτέρω. ἂν μέντοι πεισθῇτ' ἐμοὶ
 καὶ πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ φιλονικεῖν περὶ ὧν ἂν

1. ἐξηταζόμεν, §§ 197, 217, 277.
 Originally a military term, 'to be present at an inspection;' hence, generally, 'to be found on examination.' Cf. § 310 ἐξέτασις note.

174. 5. ὑπαρχόντων. Cf. Fals. Leg. § 61. p. 358 ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους μαλακοὺς ἐποίησέ τὸ τὸν Φίλιππον ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πεισθῆναι and Shilleto's note.

was found in my place not only speaking, but proposing what was necessary to help you, in the very midst of your terrors; secondly, ^{because} that at the expense of a little time you will gain much new experience to guide the sequel of your whole policy. I said, then, that I considered those who were bewildered, be- 174 cause they thought the Thebans were attached to Philip, to be ignorant of the present situation: for I well knew that, were this really so, we should be hearing of him not at Elatea, but on our own borders. I distinctly knew, however, that he had come in order to expedite affairs in Thebes. 'Now hear 175 from me,' said I, 'how these stand. He has primed all those among the Thebans whom it was possible to prevail upon by money or to delude; but he can in no way prevail upon those who have withstood him from the outset and are now adverse to him. What, then, does he wish, and for what end has he captured Elatea? He wishes, by showing his forces in the neighbourhood, and by bringing up his arms, first, to buoy up and embolden his own friends; and, secondly, to strike terror into his adversaries, that they may be either frightened or forced into concessions which they now dislike. 176 If, therefore, on the one hand, we shall deliberately choose,' said I, 'to remember in our present condition anything ill-natured which the Thebans may have done to us, and to mistrust them as being in the camp of the enemy, not only shall we be likely to do what Philip would pray for, but also I fear lest, his present antagonists having joined in welcoming him, and all with one mind having turned partisans of Philip, both parties united may come against Attica. If, however, you are persuaded by me and devote yourselves to examine without

175. 13. εὐτρέπισται. Cf. c. Aristoc. § 189. p. 683 ἂν μόνον εὐτρεπίσῃται τοὺς ἐνθάδε εξαπατατήσοντας ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

19. φοβηθέντες, § 7 note.

176. 20. εἰ μὲν is answered by ἂν

μέντοι, cf. § 12 note.

24. πρῶτον μὲν . . . εἶτα, as below, § 177; cf. § 1 note.

28. πρὸς τῷ σκοπεῖν. Cf. Fals. Leg. § 139. p. 380 οὕτως ἐκφρων ἦν καὶ ὅλος πρὸς τῷ λήμματι, and Shilleto's note.

λέγω γένησθε, οἶμαι καὶ τὰ δέοντα λέγειν δόξειν καὶ
τὸν ἐφεστηκότα κίνδυνον τῇ πόλει διαλύσειν. τί οὖν
177 φημι δεῖν; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν παρόντα ἐπανεῖναι φόβον,
εἴτα μεταθέσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι πάντας ὑπὲρ Θηβαίων
πολὺ γὰρ τῶν δεινῶν εἰσιν ἡμῶν ἐγγυτέρω, καὶ προ- 5
τέροις αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὁ κίνδυνος· ἔπειτ' ἐξελθόντας
'Ελευσινάδε τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας δεῖξαι
πᾶσιν ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας, ἵνα τοῖς ἐν
Θήβαις φρονοῦσι τὰ ὑμέτερα ἐξ ἴσου γένηται τὸ παρ-
ρησιάζεσθαι περὶ τῶν δικαίων, ἰδοῦσιν ὅτι, ὥσπερ τοῖς 10
πωλοῦσι Φιλίππῳ τὴν πατρίδα πάρεσθ' ἢ βοηθήσουσα
δύναμις ἐν 'Ελατεῖᾳ, οὕτω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
ἀγωνίζεσθαι βουλομένοις ὑπάρχει' ὑμεῖς ἔτοιμοι καὶ
178 βοηθήσετ', ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴῃ. μετὰ ταῦτα χειρο-
τονῆσαι κελεύω δέκα πρέσβεις, καὶ ποιῆσαι τούτους 15
κυρίους μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ πότε δεῖ βαδίζειν
ἐκεῖσε καὶ τῆς ἐξόδου. ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔλθωσιν οἱ πρέσβεις
εἰς Θήβας, πῶς χρήσασθαι τῷ πράγματι παραινῶ;
τούτῳ πάννυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν. μὴ δεῖσθαι
Θηβαίων μηδέν (αἰσχροὺς γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς) ἀλλ' ἐπαγ- 20
γέλλεσθαι βοηθήσειν, ἐὰν κελεύωσιν, ὥς ἐκείνων ὄντων
ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμεινον ἢ κείνοι προορω-
μένων, ἢν' ἐὰν μὲν δέξωνται ταῦτα καὶ πεισθῶσιν ἡμῖν,
καὶ ἂ βουλόμεθα ὤμεν διωκῆμενοι καὶ μετὰ προσχή-
ματος ἀξίου τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα πράξωμεν, ἐὰν δ' ἄρα 25
μὴ συμβῇ κατατυχεῖν, ἐκείνοι μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσιν,
ἂν τι νῦν ἑξαμαρτάνωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ μηδέν αἰσχρὸν μηδὲ
179 ταπεινὸν ἢ πεπραγμένον.' Ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια
τούτοις εἰπὼν κατέβην. συνεπαινεσάντων δὲ πάντων
καὶ οὐδενὸς εἰπόντος ἐναντίον οὐδὲν οὐκ εἶπον μὲν 30

177. 4. μεταθέσθαι, sc. τὸν φόβον, or perhaps τὴν δόξαν, as § 229.

animosity whatever I may say, I think I shall be found to show what is necessary and shall dissipate the danger which now hangs over the state. What then do I affirm to be necessary? In the first place, to let your present panic pass away, and then change your minds and fear, one and all, for the Thebans; for they are far nearer the peril than we are, and the danger falls on them first. Then those of you who are of the military age, with your cavalry, must march out to Eleusis and show yourselves to the world in arms: that your sympathisers in Thebes may possess in equal measure with their opponents the power to speak boldly for the right, when they see that, as those who are selling their country to Philip have near them at Elatea the force which will support them, in the same way you are ready at hand, and will render assistance, whoever shall assail, to the champions of freedom. This decided, I bid you elect ten ambassadors, and invest them with full power, in conjunction with the generals, both to determine when you must march thither and to arrange your expedition. And when the ambassadors shall have come to Thebes, how do I urge them to deal with the situation? Pray direct your attention strictly to this. I urge them not to make any demand on the Thebans—for the season would be meanly chosen—but to promise that you will aid them if they require it, recognising that they are in extremities, while we are better placed to see the future than they are, in order that, if they accept this offer and are persuaded by us, we shall not only have carried out our wishes, but shall have done so with an aspect worthy of our state; or, if after all it shall not turn out that we are successful, that they have themselves to blame for any error they commit now, and that nothing disgraceful or degraded may have been done by us.' After I had said these and similar words I came down from the platform. And when all joined in approving my plans and no one had

178. 21. After ἐκείνων Dind. has μέν, and reads τὸ μέλλον before προορωμένων.

ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ, οὐδ' ἔγραψα μέν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ, οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μέν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους· ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς διεξῆλθον, καὶ ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑμῖν ἀπλῶς εἰς τοὺς περιεστηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους. Καί μοι φέρε τὸ 5 ψήφισμα τὸ τότε γενόμενον.

- 180 Καίτοι τίνα βούλει σέ, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ τίνα ἐμαυτὸν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν εἶναι θῶ; βούλει ἐμαυτὸν μέν, ὃν ἂν σὺ λοιδορούμενος καὶ διασύρων καλέσαις, Βάτ-
ταλον, σέ δὲ μὴδ' ἥρωα τὸν τυχόντα ἀλλὰ τούτων 10
τινὰ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, Κρεσφόντην ἢ Κρέοντα ἢ ὃν ἐν Κολλυτῷ ποτε Οἰνόμαον κακῶς ἐπέτριψας; τότε τοίνυν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐγὼ Βάτ-
ταλος Οἰνομάου τοῦ Κοθωκίδου σοῦ πλείονος ἄξιος ὢν ἐφάνην τῇ πατρίδι. σὺ μέν γε οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ χρή- 15
σιμος ἦσθα· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα προσῆκε τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην, ἔπραττον. Λέγε τὸ ψήφισμά μοι.

- 181 ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ [ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ. Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Ναυσικλέους, φυλῆς πρυτανευούσης Αἰαντίδος, σκιροφοριῶνος ἕκτη ἐπὶ δέκα, Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους 20
Παιανιεὺς εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἔν τε τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ παραβαίνων φαίνεται τὰς γεγενημένας αὐτῷ συνθήκας πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπεριδὼν τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰ

179. 2. ἐπρέσβευσα κ.τ.λ. Aeschines considers this as an aggravation of Demosthenes' offence, c. Ct. § 80 ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις δ' ἦσαν αἰτίαις .. Φιλοκράτης καὶ Δημοσθένης διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον πρεσβεῦν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γεγραφέναι.

3. After ἀρχῆς Dind. has διὰ πάντων.

4. ἔδωκ' ἐμαυτὸν .. εἰς, § 88.

180. 7. καίτοι introduces a passage similarly interposed before the reading of a document in §§ 212, 219.

βούλει σέ .. θῶ; so Aeschin. c. Ct. § 163 βούλει σε θῶ φοβηθῆναι;

9. Βάτταλον. Aeschin. Fals. Leg. p. 273 says, ἐκλήθη δι' αἰσχουργίαν ἢ κιναιδίαν Βάταλος. The name is said to have been taken from an effeminate musician of Ephesus.

10. ἥρωα. Cf. Fals. Leg. § 275. p. 418 ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι ἐν ἀπασιν τοῖς δράμασι τοῖς τραγικοῖς ἐξαιρετόν ἐστιν ὥσπερ γέρας τοῖς τριταγωνισταῖς τὸ τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρα

said a word in opposition, I did not speak thus yet fail to move a decree, nor move the decree yet fail to go as ambassador, nor go as ambassador yet fail to persuade the Thebans; but I went through all from the beginning to the end, and devoted myself absolutely on your behalf to face the dangers which encircled the city. So please bring me [to the clerk] the decree that was then made.

In the meantime, Aeschines, whom shall I suppose you to **180** be, and whom shall I suppose myself to be during that day? Shall I suppose myself to be the Battalus which you would nickname me in your invective and disparagement, and suppose you to be, not even a hero of the ordinary sort, but one of those on the stage, Cresphontes, or Creon, or the Oenomaus whom you once villainously murdered at Collytus? Very well, at that time, throughout that crisis, I, Battalus of the deme Paeania, showed myself more valuable to my country than you, Oenomaus of the deme Cothocis. For you were nowhere serviceable; while I did everything which became the good citizen. Read me the decree.

DECREE.

*In the archonship of Nausicles, during the prytanyship of the **181** tribe Aeantis, on the sixteenth day of Scirophorion, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the deme Paeania, moved, Whereas Philip, the king of the Macedonians, both in past time has openly transgressed the covenants struck by him with the Athenian people concerning peace, having neglected the oaths and the obligations*

ἔχοντας εἰσιέναι.

11. Κρεσφόντην. A Heracleid king of Messenia, murdered by one of his nobles, Polyphontes, who then married his queen, Merope. It is conjectured by Welcker that in Euripides' tragedy of *Μερόπη* Cresphontes was a 'ghost-part,' v. § 267.

Κρέοντα. Cf. Fals. Leg. § 275. p. 418 ὁ Κρέων-Αἰσχίνης.

12. Οἰνόμαον, king of Pisa, and father of Hippodamia: cf. § 242.

After Οἰνόμαον Dind. has ὑποκρινόμενος.

181. 18. ψήφισμα. The archon is pseudonymous, and only five ambassadors are mentioned here instead of ten, § 178. Aeschines sneers at Demosthenes' decree, c. Ct. § 100 ψήφισμα . . μακρότερον μὲν τῆς Ἰλιάδος, κενώτερον δὲ τῶν λόγων οὓς εἶωθε λέγειν καὶ τοῦ βίου ὃν βεβίωκε, μεστὸν δ' ἐλπίδων οὐκ ἐσομένων καὶ στρατοπέδων οὐδέποτε συλλεγησομένων.

- παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησι νομιζόμενα εἶναι δίκαια, καὶ πόλεις παραιρεῖται οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας, τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὔσας δοριαλώτους πεποίηκεν οὐδὲν προαδικηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι
- 182 ἐπὶ πολὺ προάγει τῇ τε βίᾳ καὶ τῇ ὡμότητι· καὶ γὰρ 5
 Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἃς μὲν ἐμφρούρους ποιεῖ καὶ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύει, τινὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξανδραποδιζόμενος κατασκάπτει, εἰς ἐνίας δὲ καὶ ἀντὶ Ἑλλήνων βαρβάρους κατοικίζει ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς τάφους ἐπάγων, οὐδὲν ἀλλότριον ποιῶν οὔτε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος οὔτε 10
 τοῦ τρόπου, καὶ τῇ νῦν αὐτῷ παρούσῃ τύχῃ κατακόρως χρώμενος, ἐπιλεησμένος ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι ἐκ μικροῦ
- 183 καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος γέγονεν ἀνελπίστως μέγας. καὶ ἕως μὲν πόλεις ἑώρα παραιρούμενον αὐτὸν βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας, ὑπελάμβανεν ἕλαττον εἶναι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθη- 15
 ναίων τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πλημμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὁρῶν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις τὰς μὲν ὑβριζόμενας τὰς δὲ ἀναστάτους γιγνομένας, δεινὸν ἡγείται εἶναι καὶ ἀνάξιον τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης τὸ περιορᾶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας καταδουλο- 20
 μένους. διὰ δέδοκται τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθη-
 184 ναίων, εὐξαμένους καὶ θύσαντας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς κατέχουσι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐνθυμηθέντας τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, διότι περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίαν διατη- 25
 ρεῖν ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν πατρίδα, διακοσίας ναῦς καθέλκειν εἰς
 τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὸν ναύαρχον ἀναπλεῖν ἐντὸς Πυλῶν, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον τὰς περὶ τὰς ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις Ἑλευσινάδε ἐξάγειν, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, πρῶτον δὲ πάντων πρὸς Θηβαίους διὰ τὸ ἐγγυτάτω εἶναι τὸν Φίλιππον τῆς 30
 185 ἐκείνων χώρας, παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτοὺς μηδὲν καταπλεγέντας τὸν Φίλιππον ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ ὅτι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος,

182. 6. ἃς μὲν, § 164.

183. 14. βαρβάρους καὶ ἰδίας. 'Non-

Hellenic, although belonging to us :'

cf. § 181 τινὰς δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὔσας.

which are considered just among all the Hellenes, and is detaching cities which do not at all belong to him, and has also taken with the spear certain cities which belong to the Athenians, although he has received no provocation from the Athenian people; and whereas at the present time he is taking great strides in violence and cruelty: for he has garrisoned some Hellenic cities 182 and destroys their constitutions, and also razes certain of them to the ground, selling the inhabitants as slaves, and in some settles barbarians instead of Hellenes, introducing them to the possession of the temples and the tombs, doing nothing foreign to his own nationality or disposition, and making an excessive use of his present fortune, having forgotten that he himself from a small and ordinary position has become unexpectedly great: and 183 whereas, so long as the Athenian people saw him detaching non-Hellenic cities, even though they belonged to Athens, they conceived that the outrage done to them personally was less important; but now, seeing Hellenic cities in some cases insulted, in other cases overthrown, they consider that it is shameful and unworthy of the reputation of their ancestors to overlook the subjugation of the Hellenes: Therefore it hath been resolved by the 184 council and commons of the Athenians, that, after having prayed and offered sacrifice to the gods and heroes who sway the city and territory of the Athenians, and after taking to heart the valour of their forefathers, inasmuch as they deemed it of higher importance to preserve the freedom of the Hellenes than their own country, they launch two hundred ships, and that the naval commander sail out to the south of Thermopylae, and that the general and the commander of the cavalry lead the forces, both foot and horse, to Eleusis; and that they send ambassadors also to the other Hellenes, and first of all to the Thebans, because Philip is nearest to their territory, and exhort them to cleave, without any 185 undue fear of Philip, to their own liberty and that of the rest of the Hellenes, and state that the Athenian people, bearing no

184. 20. δέδοκται. Dind. has δεδόχθαι. 185. 33. ὅτι, 'to say that,' § 74.

- οὐδὲν μνησικακῶν εἴ τι πρότερον γέγονεν ἀλλότριον ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας, βοηθήσει καὶ δυνάμεσι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ὄπλοις, εἰδὼς ὅτι αὐτοῖς μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας οὖσιν Ἑλλησι καλόν, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀλλοφύλου ἀνθρώπου ἄρχεσθαι 5 καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀποστερεῖσθαι ἀνάξιον εἶναι καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων δόξης καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς. ἔτι δὲ οὐδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖται εἶναι ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τὸν Θηβαίων δῆμον οὔτε τῇ συγγενείᾳ οὔτε τῷ ὁμοφύλῳ. ἀναμνησκεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εἰς 10 τοὺς Θηβαίων προγόνους εὐεργεσίας· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας ἀποστερουμένους ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς κατήγαγον, τοῖς ὄπλοις κρατήσαντες τοὺς ἀντιβαίνειν πειρωμένους τοῖς Ἡρακλέους ἐκγόνοις, καὶ τὸν Οἰδίπουν καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνου ἐκπεσόντας 15 ὑπεδεξάμεθα, καὶ ἕτερα πολλὰ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἔνδοξα πρὸς Θηβαίους· διόπερ οὐδὲ νῦν ἀποστήσεται ὁ Ἀθηναίων δῆμος τῶν Θηβαίους τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι συμφερόντων. συνθέσθαι δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμίαν ποιήσασθαι καὶ 20 ὅρκους δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν. πρέσβεις Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεύς, Ὑπερείδης Κλεάνδρου Σφήττιος, Μνησιθείδης Ἀντιφάνους Φρεάρριος, Δημοκράτης Σωφίλου Φλυεύς, Κάλλαισχος Διοτίμου Κοθωκίδης.]
- 187 Αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγίγνετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ 25 καὶ κατὰστασις πρώτη, τὰ πρὸ τούτων εἰς ἔχθραν καὶ μῖσος καὶ ἀπιστίαν τῶν πόλεων ὑπηγμένων ὑπὸ τούτων. τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν τότε τῇ πόλει περιστάντα κίνδυνον παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ νέφος. ἦν μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ δικαίου πολίτου τότε δεῖξαι πᾶσιν, εἴ τι 30 189 τούτων εἶχεν ἄμεινον, μὴ νῦν ἐπιτιμᾶν. ὁ γὰρ σύμβουλος καὶ ὁ συκοφάντης, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν

187. 20. καὶ before συμμαχίαν is omitted by Dind.

188. 29. ἦν μὲν is repeated § 190 ἦν μὲν οὖν, ὅπερ εἶπον, and answered by

malice on account of any estrangement which has previously happened to the cities in their relations to one another, will assist them with forces and money, and missiles and arms, knowing that, while it is honourable for them, as Hellenes, to dispute the precedence, to be ruled by a foreigner and be deprived of their pre-eminence is unworthy both of the reputation of the Hellenes and of the valour of their forefathers. And still further, the Athe-186
nian people do not at all consider the Theban people alien to themselves either in family ties or national ties of blood, but also call to recollection the good services of their own forefathers to the forefathers of the Thebans; for they restored from exile the sons of Heracles when they were robbed by the Peloponnesians of their ancestral kingdom, having conquered by force of arms those who strove to withstand the descendants of Heracles; and we entertained Oedipus and those who were exiled with him; and we have on record many other benevolent and reputable acts done to the Thebans: therefore the Athenian people will not even now 187
stand aloof from the interests of the Thebans and the other Hellenes. It has been resolved also to concert with them both a military alliance and a contract permitting intermarriage, and to take and tender oaths. Ambassadors: Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes, of the deme Paeania; Hyperides, son of Cleander, of the deme Sphetta; Mnesithides, son of Antiphanes, of the deme Phrearri; Democrates, son of Sophilus, of the deme Phlyes; Callaeschrus, son of Diotimus, of the deme Cothocis.

This was the origin and first stage of our negotiations 188
with Thebes, the states having previously been lured into mutual enmity and jealousy and distrust by my opponents. This decree caused the danger which then enveloped the city to pass away like a cloud. It was the part of the just citizen, therefore, to divulge at that time whatever better plan he had than mine, not to play the censor now. For the 189
statesman and the slanderer, though they are similar in no

ἐγὼ δέ κ.τ.λ.

189. 32. συκοφάντης. C. R. Kennedy, in his article under this title in

the Dict. of Antiquities, says, 'Sycophantes in the time of Aristophanes and Demosthenes designated a person

εοικότες, ἐν τούτῳ πλείστον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν ὁ
 μὲν γε πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων γνώμην ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ
 δίδωσιν αὐτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τοῖς πεισθείσι, τῇ τύχῃ, τῷ
 καιρῷ, τῷ βουλομένῳ· ὁ δὲ σιγήσας ἡνίκ' ἔδει λέγειν,
 190 ἂν τι δύσκολον συμβῇ, τοῦτο βασκαίνει. ἦν μὲν οὖν, 5
 ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ γε φροντίζοντος
 ἀνδρὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν δικαίων λόγων· ἐγὼ δὲ
 τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ποιοῦμαι, ὥστε ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις
 δεῖξαι τι βέλτιον, ἢ ὅλως εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐνῆν πλὴν ὧν
 ἐγὼ προειλόμην, ἀδικεῖν ὁμολογῶ. εἰ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὃ τι 10
 τις νῦν ἑώρακεν, ὃ συνήνεγκεν ἂν τότε πραχθέν, τουτ'
ἐγὼ φημι δεῖν ἐμὲ μὴ λαθεῖν. εἰ δὲ μήτ' ἔστι μήτε
 ἦν μήτ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι μηδεὶς μηδέπω καὶ τῆμερον, *over*
 τί τὸν σύμβουλον ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν; οὐ τῶν φαινομένων *tol*
 191 καὶ ἐνόντων τὰ κράτιστα ἐλέσθαι; τοῦτο τοίνυν 15
 ἐποίησα, τοῦ κήρυκος ἐρωτῶντος, Αἰσχίνη, 'τίς ἀγο-
 ρεύειν βούλεται;' οὐ 'τίς αἰτιασθαι περὶ τῶν παρελη-
 λυθότων;' οὐδὲ 'τίς ἐγγυᾶσθαι τὰ μέλλοντ' ἔσεσθαι;' *en*
 σοῦ δ' ἀφώνου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐν ταῖς *tol*
 ἐκκλησίαις καθημένου ἐγὼ παριῶν ἔλεγον. ἐπειδὴ δ' 20
 οὐ τότε, ἀλλὰ νῦν δεῖξον. εἰπέ τις ἢ λόγος, ὄντιν'
 ἐχρῆν εὐπορεῖν, ἢ καιρὸς συμφέρων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παρε-

of a peculiar class, not capable of being described by any single word in our language, but well understood and appreciated by an Athenian. He had not much in common with our *sycophant*, but was a happy combination of the *common barretor*, *informer*, *pettifogger*, *busybody*, *rogue*, *liar*, and *slanderer*.

3. τῷ καιρῷ. Dind. has τοῖς καιροῖς. Demosthenes' duty to Fortune and 'the occasions' was to make the best use of them. Hence the datives τύχῃ and καιρῷ are not quite parallel in

sense to τοῖς πεισθείσι and τῷ βουλομένῳ, between which they stand by a sort of *zeugma*.

190. 8. ὑπερβολὴν is used in the same sense below, § 199, and Fals. Leg. p. 447 ἀλλ' ὑπερβολὴν ποιήσομαι· ἔστω γὰρ πάντα τὰ ληθῆ λέξεν περὶ αὐτοῦ τουτονί.

11. ἑώρακεν. Dind. prefers the form ἑώρακεν.

12. λαθεῖν. Another interpretation has been suggested: 'I protest it must not be kept from me.' But this weakens the ὑπερβολή.

respect whatever, differ from one another most widely in this: the former freely utters his opinion before the event, and makes himself responsible to those who took his advice, to fortune, to the occasion, to all who will; but the latter, having held his peace in the hour when he should have spoken, afterwards, if anything untoward shall have happened, carps at that.

*clearly
derived from
facts of or*

That crisis, then, as I began to say, was the opportunity 190 — of the man who cared for his country and for honest-speaking; and I make so extravagant a concession as to confess — that, if any one to-day can point out a better policy, or, more generally, if any other course was possible besides that which I deliberately chose, I am guilty. For if any one has by now discerned a measure which, had it then been carried out, would have been beneficial, that measure, I declare, ought not to have escaped me. But if there is not, if there was not a better course, if no one even so late as to-day is likely to be able to name one, what ought your statesman to have done? Ought he not to have chosen the best of the measures which revealed themselves and were possible? This, therefore, 191 was what I did, when the herald inquired—mark, Aeschines—‘Who wishes to address the assembly?’ not, ‘Who wishes to bring charges about by-gones?’ nor yet, ‘Who wishes to guarantee the future?’ While you, throughout those periods, sat in the assembly dumb, I came forward and spoke continually. But since you failed then, at any rate give your advice now. Tell us, what reasoning, which I ought then to have supplied, or what advantageous opportunity, was let slip

13. *ἄν* with the optative forms a modified future (‘am likely to’) and is occasionally used even after *εἰ*. Compare Eurip. Alcest. 48 οὐ γὰρ οἶδ’ *ἂν* εἰ πείσαιμί σε, and Aesch. Agam. 930 εἰ πάντα δ’ ὥς πράσσοιμ’ *ἂν*, *εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ* (sc. *εἰμί*), where Paley quotes Demos. c. Mid. § 212. p. 582 εἰ δ’ οὗτοι χρήματ’ ἔχοντες μὴ πρόοιντ’ *ἂν*, πῶς ὑμῖν καλὸν (sc. *ἔστί*) τὸν ὅρκον προσέθαι; Isocrat. Archidam. p. 120 εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς *ἂν* ὑμῶν ἀξιώσειε ζῆν ἀποστερούμενος τῆς πατρίδος, προσήκει κ.τ.λ., and also Plato, Protag. p. 329 B,

Eurip. Helen. 825. In the last passage the construction is broken by an interrupting speaker: but in the others the character of the apodosis shows that the sentences are not really conditional. Were they so, the *ἂν* could not stand. In the first *εἰ* = ‘that,’ in the rest ‘as.’

191. 21. οὐ τότε, sc. *ἐδείξας*.

λόγος will perhaps bear a different rendering: what *scheme* which I ought to have devised.

22. *εὐπορεῖν*. Dind. has *εὐρεῖν*.

λείφθη τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ συμμαχία, τίς πρᾶξις, ἐφ' ἣν μάλλον ἔδει με ἀγαγεῖν τουτουσί;

- 192 Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ μὲν παρεληλυθὸς αἰὲ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀφεῖται, καὶ οὐδεὶς περὶ τούτου προτίθῃσιν οὐδαμοῦ βουλὴν· τὸ δὲ μέλλον ἢ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου 5 τάξιν ἀπαιτεῖ. τότε τοίνυν τὰ μὲν ἡμελλεν, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν δεινῶν, τὰ δ' ἤδη παρῆν, ἐν οἷς τὴν προαίρεσίν μου σκόπει τῆς πολιτείας, μὴ τὰ συμβάντα συκοφάντει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πέρασ, ὡς ἂν ὁ δαίμων βουληθῇ, πάντων γίγνεται· ἡ δὲ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ τὴν τοῦ συμ- 10
- 193 βούλου διάνοιαν δηλοῖ. μὴ δὴ τοῦτο ὡς ἀδίκημα ἐμὸν θῆς, εἰ κρατῆσαι συνέβη Φιλίππῳ τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ τὸ τούτου τέλος ἦν, οὐκ ἐμοί. ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐνῆν κατ' ἀνθρώπινον λογισμὸν εἰλόμην, καὶ δικαίως ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔπραξα καὶ 15 φιλοπόνως ὑπὲρ δύναμιν, ἢ ὡς οὐ καλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράγματα ἐνεστησάμην καὶ ἀναγκαῖα, ταῦτά
- 194 μοι δείξον, καὶ τότ' ἤδη κατηγορεῖ μου. εἰ δ' ὁ συμβᾶς σκηπτὸς μὴ μόνον ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μείζων γέγονε, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν; ὥσπερ 20 ἂν εἴ τις ναύκληρον πάντ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ πράξαντα καὶ κατασκευάσαντα τὸ πλοῖον ἀφ' ᾧ ἐπελάμβανε σωθῆσθαι, εἴτα χεიმῶνι χρησάμενον καὶ πονησάντων αὐτῷ τῶν σκευῶν ἢ καὶ συντριβέντων ὅλως, τῆς ναυαγίας αἰτιῶτο, 'ἀλλ' οὗτ' ἐκυβέρνηων τὴν ναῦν,' φήσειεν 25 ἂν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ἐστρατήγουν ἐγώ, 'οὔτε τῆς τύχης
- 195 κύριος ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη τῶν πάντων.' ἀλλ' ἐκείνο λογίζου καὶ ὄρα· εἰ μετὰ Θηβαίων ἡμῖν ἀγωνιζόμενοις

1. πρᾶξις, § 22.

193. 12. εἰ, § 28 note.

ἐν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ. Cf. Pind. Ol. xiii.
104 (149) ἐν θεῷ γε μὰν τέλος. Dind.

repeats ἐν before ἐμοί.

194. 20. ὥσπερ ἂν. This ἂν anticipates φήσειεν ἂν: hence the sentence does not end with αἰτιῶτο—after which

by me to the harm of the state,—what alliance, what negotiation, to which I should preferably have conducted my hearers?

Of course all the world has always dismissed by-gones, **192** and no one anywhere proposes to deliberate about them; it is only the future or the present which requires the services of the statesman. Thus, at that time, some of our dangers lay in the future, as we thought, and others were already present. Examine the guiding principle of my policy amid these, and do not cavil at the turn of events. For the result of all enterprises issues in whatever way Providence may please; but principles, as principles, demonstrate the disposition of the statesman. Do not then assume it to be a **193** crime of mine that it fell to Philip to win the battle; for that was a consummation that lay in God's province, not in mine. But show that I did not adopt all measures which were feasible according to human calculation, that I did not carry them out justly, with diligent care and with a willing labour beyond my strength, or that I did not institute proceedings honourable, worthy of the state and indispensable,—show me this, and then you may at once accuse me. But if the hurricane that **194** rose has overpowered not us alone, but all the other Hellenes also, what must be done? Answer just as a ship-owner, after he had done everything to secure a prosperous voyage, and had fitted his vessel with the means by which he supposed she would come safe to harbour, yet had later encountered a storm and his gear had been strained or wholly shattered, would, if any blamed him for the wreck, answer, 'Nay, I neither piloted the ship'—as little was I myself your general in command—'nor controlled Fortune, but she ruled all.' Reason, however, and examine further. Seeing that it had been fated that we **195** should fare as we have done when we struggled with the help of the Thebans, what ought we to have expected if we

the 'full stop' generally read should be removed—but runs on to its close in a regular apodosis. There is here no el-

lipse after ὥσπερ ἂν εἶ, as there is § 214.

22. Before κατασκευάσαντα Dind. has πᾶσι.

Results

explained

Chance

οὕτως εἴμαρτο πράξαι, τί χρῆν προσδοκᾶν, εἰ μὴδὲ
 τούτους ἔσχομεν συμμάχους ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ προσέθεντο,
 ὑπὲρ οὗ τότε ἐκεῖνος πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς; καὶ εἰ νῦν
 τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὁδὸν τῆς μάχης γε-
 νομένης τοσοῦτος κίνδυνος καὶ φόβος περιέστη τὴν 5
 πόλιν, τί ἂν, εἴ που τῆς χώρας ταῦτὸ τοῦτο πάθος
 συνέβη, προσδοκῆσαι χρῆν; ἂρ' οἴσθ' ὅτι νῦν μὲν
 — στήναι συνελθεῖν ἀναπνεῦσαι, πολλὰ μία ἡμέρα καὶ
 δύο καὶ τρεῖς ἔδωσαν τῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν τῇ πόλει, τότε
 δ' —, οὐκ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἃ γε μὴδὲ πείραν ἔδωκε θεῶν 10
 τινος εὐνοία καὶ τῷ προβάλλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην
 τὴν συμμαχίαν, ἧς σὺ κατηγορεῖς.

- 196 Ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ πάντα μοι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
 ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας ἔξωθεν καὶ
 ἀκροωμένους, ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτον τὸν κατάπτυστον 15
 βραχὺς καὶ σαφὴς ἐξήρκει λόγος. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν σοι
 πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα, Αἰσχίνη, μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτ'
 ἐβουλεύεθ' ἡ πόλις περὶ τούτων, τότε ἔδει προλέγειν.
 εἰ δὲ μὴ προήδεις, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεύθυνος εἶ
 τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥστε τί μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ σὺ ταῦτα κατηγορεῖς 20
- 197 ἢ ἐγὼ σοῦ; τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀμείνων ἐγὼ σοῦ πολίτης
 γέγονα εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' ἃ λέγω (καὶ οὐπω περὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων διαλέγομαι), ὅσον ἐγὼ μὲν ἔδωκα ἐμαυτὸν εἰς
 τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν, οὐδένα κίνδυνον ὀκνήσας

195. 2. προσέθεντο, §§ 39, 203, 227, a Thucydidean use of the word, as iii. 11, etc.

3. πάσας ἀφῆκε φωνάς, §§ 218, 222, is used specially of agonised or despairing utterances.

9. τότε δ' —. Observe the ἀποσιώπησις, by which Greek taste and superstition avoided the mention of evil.

10. ἃ is beyond doubt the subject of πείραν ἔδωκε, which means literally, 'to offer trial of oneself,' cf. § 107, as

πείραν λαμβάνειν means to accept such an offer and 'to make a trial' of another, cf. Aeschin. c. Ct. § 213.

11. προβάλλεσθαι, §§ 97, 300. Dind. has προβαλέσθαι.

196. 13. τὰ πολλὰ might perhaps be taken adverbially, = 'principally,' as e. g. Homer, Od. ii. 58 τὰ δὲ πολλὰ κατάνεται = 'these things are largely consumed.' But the rendering in the text is made more probable by Demosthenes' use of the words elsewhere,

had not had even these as allies, but they had attached themselves to Philip,—an object for which he then cried in every key? And if, as it was, when the battle took place three days' journey from Attica, so much danger and fear encompassed the city, what must we have expected if this same disaster had occurred somewhere in our own territory? Do you not know that, as a matter of fact, one day, or two, or three gave us a chance to keep our feet, to concentrate, to recover our breath, and to do much that helped to save the city? whereas, in the other event,—but it is improper to mention what, we must remember, never even gave us an experience,—thanks to the benevolence of some deity and to the fact that the city was sheltered behind this alliance which you impeach.

All this long exposition I intend for you, men of the jury, 196 and for my outer circle of hearers; for, as far as my despicable opponent is concerned, a short and plain argument would serve. It is this. If, on the one hand, coming events had been specially revealed to you, Aeschines, you ought to have warned us at the moment when the city was deliberating about them. On the other hand, if you did not anticipate the future, you have to account for the same blindness as the rest of us: hence what better right have you to charge me on this score than I to charge you? For I have been so far a 197 better citizen than you with regard to these matters especially of which I speak—and I am not yet discussing the others—inasmuch as I devoted myself to the measures which all believed to be expedient, having neither shirked nor even taken

as in § 152 τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν;

14. ἔξωθεν, i.e. outside the δρύφακτον, or rope which separated the court proper from the bystanders. Compare Fals. Leg. § 353. p. 440 ὑμᾶς . . καὶ τοὺς περιεστηκότας, and especially Aeschin. c. Ct. § 56 ἐναντίον τῶν δικαστῶν . . καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὅσοι δὴ ἔξωθεν περιεστᾶσι καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοις ἐπιμελὲς γέγονεν ὑπακούειν τῇσδε τῆς κρίσεως, ὅρῳ δὲ οὐκ ὀλίγους παρόν-

τας ἀλλ' ὅσους οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους.

16. ἐξήρκει without ἂν, § 306 note. εἰ μὲν γάρ κ.τ.λ. A dilemma. The γάρ is 'narrativum,' and simply introduces the promised λόγος.

197. 22. εἰς αὐτὰ ταῦθ' might mean 'at this exact period,' but cf. εἰς ταῦτα just below.

23. ἔδωκα ἑμαυτὸν εἰς, § 88.

- ἴδιον οὐδ' ὑπολογισάμενος, σὺ δὲ οὐθ' ἕτερα εἶπες
 βελτίω τούτων (οὐ γὰρ ἂν τούτοις ἐχρῶντο) οὐτ' εἰς
 ταῦτα χρήσιμον οὐδὲν σαυτὸν παρέσχες, ὅπερ δ' ἂν ὁ
 φαυλότατος καὶ δυσμενέστατος ἄνθρωπος τῇ πόλει,
 τοῦτο πεποιηκὼς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσιν ἐξήτασαι, καὶ 5
 ἅμα Ἀρίστρατος ἐν Νάξῳ καὶ Ἀριστόλεως ἐν Θάσῳ,
 οἱ καθάπαξ ἐχθροὶ τῆς πόλεως, τοὺς Ἀθηναίων κρί-
 νουσι φίλους καὶ Ἀθήνησιν Αἰσχίνης Δημοσθένους
 198 κατηγορεῖ. καίτοι ὅτῳ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχήματα
 ἐνευδοκιμεῖν ἀπέκειτο, ἀπολωλέναι μᾶλλον οὗτός ἐστι 10
 δίκαιος ἢ κατηγορεῖν ἑτέρου· καὶ ὅτῳ συνεννηόχασιν
 οἱ αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς, οὐκ ἔνι
 τοῦτον εὖνουν εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι. δηλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὧν
 ζῆς καὶ ποιεῖς καὶ πολιτεύῃ καὶ πάλιν οὐ πολιτεύῃ.
 πράττεται τι τῶν ὑμῖν δοκούντων συμφέρειν; ἄφωνος 15
 Αἰσχίνης. ἀντέκρουσέ τι καὶ γέγονεν οἶον οὐκ ἔδει;
 πάρεστιν Αἰσχίνης, ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα καὶ τὰ σπά-
 σματα, ὅταν τι κακὸν τὸ σῶμα λάβῃ, τότε κινεῖται.
 199 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πολὺς τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν ἔγκειται,
 βούλομαί τι καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν. καὶ μου πρὸς 20
 Διὸς καὶ θεῶν μηδεὶς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν θαυμάσῃ, ἀλλὰ
 μετ' εὐνοίας ὃ λέγω θεωρησάτω. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἅπασι
 πρόδηλα τὰ μέλλοντα γενήσεσθαι, καὶ προήδεσαν
 πάντες, καὶ σὺ προὔλεγες Αἰσχίνῃ καὶ διεμαρτύρου
 βοῶν καὶ κεκραγώς, ὃς οὐδ' ἐφθέγξω, οὐδ' οὕτως ἀπο- 25

2. οὐ γάρ, § 12 note.
 3. ὅπερ δ' ἂν is used elliptically, as
 in § 280; compare § 297 ὡς ἂν. 241
 5. ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβάσιν may go either
 with πεποιηκὼς or ἐξήτασαι.

ἐξήτασαι, § 173.
 198. 10. ἐνευδοκιμεῖν. For this force
 of ἐν in composition cf. Thuc. ii. 44
 οἷς ἐνευδαιμονῆσαι τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ
 ἐντελευτῆσαι ζυμετρήθη, Aeschin. c.

Cf. § 150 δῶμνον τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἣν,
 ὡς ἔοικε, Φειδίας ἐνεργολαβεῖν εἰργάσατο
 καὶ ἐνεπιორκεῖν Δημοσθένει, Hom. Od.
 iii. 350.

13. ὧν ζῆς, § 130.

14. πάλιν, § 162.

οὐ πολιτεύῃ, § 307.

15. πράττεται κ.τ.λ. § 117 note.

16. ἀντέκρουσε. Cf. Thuc. vi. 46
 αὐτοῖς τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀντεκεκρούκει =

into calculation any personal risk, while you neither proposed other measures superior to mine—otherwise they would not have adopted mine—nor showed yourself at all serviceable in carrying out these; but you are proved by the course of events to have done just what would have been done by the meanest and most disloyal of creatures. Thus, simultaneously, Aristratus in Naxos and Aristolaus in Thasus, our city's irreconcilable enemies, are putting the friends of the Athenians on their trial, and at Athens Aeschines is accusing Demosthenes. And yet the man by whom the misfortunes of the Hellenes 198 were treasured that he might make a reputation out of them, is fitter to die the death than to accuse another; and one who has profited by the same chances as his country's foes cannot be loyal. You prove your disloyalty too by your life, your conduct, your political action, and, negatively, by your political inaction. Is any measure which you think expedient to you in process? Aeschines is dumb. Has a check been received, or has something turned out amiss? Aeschines is to the fore, just as old ruptures and sprains come to life when a malady takes the body.

But, since he bears so heavily on the issue of events, I wish 199 to say something perhaps startling. And, in the name of Zeus and the gods, let no one marvel at my extravagance, but examine what I say with good will. It is this. If coming events had been revealed to all, and all had possessed prophetic knowledge, or if you, Aeschines, had predicted and protested with cries and clamour—you, who did not utter a

'this [the disappointment at finding so little money at Rhegium] had been their first check.'

17. ὥσπερ τὰ ῥήγματα κ.τ.λ. The same image is applied to ὅμορος πόλεμος, Olynth. ii. § 21. p. 24 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν . . ἐπὰν δὲ ἀρρώστημά τι συμβῇ, πάντα κινεῖται, κὰν ῥήγμα κὰν στρέμμα κὰν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων

σαθρὸν ἢ κ.τ.λ., and to the defeat of a tyrant, Adv. Epist. Ph. § 14. p. 156.

199. 19. πολὺς. Cf. Thuc. iv. 22 Κλέων δὲ ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολὺς ἐνέκειτο λέγων κ.τ.λ., Herod. vii. 158 Γέλων δὲ πολλὸς ἐνέκειτο λέγων τοιαύδε.

21. ὑπερβολήν, § 190.

22. γὰρ, § 196.

association

στατέον τῇ πόλει τούτων ἦν, εἴ περ ἡ δόξης ἡ προ-
 200 γόνων ἡ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος εἶχε λόγον. νῦν μὲν
 γε ἀποτυχεῖν δοκεῖ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃ πᾶσι κοινόν
 ἐστὶν ἀνθρώποις, ὅταν τῷ θεῷ ταῦτα δοκῇ· τότε δ'
 ἀξιούσα προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων, εἴτ' ἀποστᾶσα τούτου, 5
 Φιλίππῳ προδεδωκέναι πάντας ἂν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν. εἰ
 γὰρ ταῦτα προεῖτο ἀκονιτί, περὶ ὧν οὐδένα κίνδυνον
 ὄντιν' οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οἱ πρόγονοι, τίς οὐχὶ κατέπτυσεν
 201 ἂν σου; μὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως γε, μηδ' ἐμοῦ. τίσι δ'
 ὀφθαλμοῖς πρὸς Διὸς ἑωρῶμεν ἂν τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν 10
 ἀνθρώπους ἀφικνουμένους, εἰ τὰ μὲν πράγματ' εἰς
 ὅπερ νυνὶ περιέστη, ἡγεμῶν δὲ καὶ κύριος ἤρέθη
 Φίλιππος ἀπάντων, τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι ταῦτ'
 ἀγῶνα ἕτεροι χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, καὶ
 ταῦτα μηδεπώποτε τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθε 15
 χρόνοις ἀσφάλειαν ἄδοξον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 202 καλῶν κίνδυνον ἡρημένης; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν Ἑλλήνων,
 τίς δὲ βαρβάρων, ὅτι καὶ παρὰ Θηβαίων καὶ παρὰ
 τῶν ἔτι τούτων πρότερον ἰσχυρῶν γενομένων Λακε-
 δαιμονίων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μετὰ 20
 πολλῆς χάριτος τοῦτ' ἂν ἀσμένως ἐδόθη τῇ πόλει,
 ὃ τι βούλεται λαβούσῃ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἐχούσῃ τὸ
 κελεύόμενον ποιεῖν καὶ ἑᾶν ἕτερον τῶν Ἑλλήνων προε-
 203 στάναι; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ταῦθ', ὥς ἔοικε, τοῖς τότε Ἀθη-
 ναίοις πάτρια οὐδ' ἀνεκτὰ οὐδ' ἔμφυτα, οὐδ' ἡδυνήθη 25

1. τούτων = προεστάναι τῶν ἄλλων § 200.

ἦν = ἦν ἂν § 306 note.

ἡ is omitted by Dind. before δόξης, on which the genitives προγόνων and τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος then probably depend—'her glory in the past or the future,' or, 'the judgment of the old world and of posterity.'

200. 7. οὐδένα κίνδυνον for οὐδεὶς

κίνδυνος by attraction to ὄντιν'. Cf. § 16 note.

9 μή because the clause is prohibitive.

201. 10. τοὺς . . ἀφικνουμένους, § 71 note.

12. περιέστη. A variant περιέστη κεν is found, from which καὶ has been conjectured before ἡγεμῶν, and the δέ which follows omitted. This seems

sound—yet not even then ought the city to have abandoned her purposes, as surely as she had any regard either for her reputation or her ancestors or for time to come. As it was, 200 after all, she simply seems to have failed of success: and that is common to all men, when such is the pleasure of Providence. But, in the other case, when she claimed to be preeminent over the rest, had she afterwards abandoned this claim, she would have got the blame of having betrayed all to Philip. For if she had sacrificed without a struggle those aims for which there was no hazard that our ancestors did not dare, who would not have cast contempt—on you? For let me not say on my country, or on me. And with what 201 face, in the name of Zeus, could we have looked upon visitors to our city, if, on the one hand, affairs had taken the turn which they really have taken, that is to say, if Philip had been elected leader and lord of all, yet, on the other hand, other peoples, without our aid, had fought the battle to prevent this result, and that, too, when our country had never in earlier times preferred inglorious security to peril in the quest of honour? For what Hellene, what non-Hellene, does not 202 know, that, alike by the Thebans and by the Lacedaemonians, who before them had risen to power, and by the Persian king, permission would gladly have been accorded to Athens, with a large supplement of gratitude, to take whatever she would, as well as to retain her own possessions, if she would obey dictation and suffer another to be preeminent over the Hellenes? But these apparently were views neither tra- 203 ditional nor tolerable nor instinctive to the Athenians of those

*but is
not best*

unnecessary: τὰ μὲν is answered by τὸν δ', and not by ἡγεμὼν δὲ κ.τ.λ., the latter clause being a parenthetical explanation of ὅπερ νυνί.

202. 21. τοῦτ' is sometimes taken as antecedent to ὅτι βούλεται, but this would require λαβοῦσαν and ἔχουσαν, and the balance of the sentence requires that τοῦτο, as in § 1, should anticipate

the coming infinitive clauses.

For the matter compare Xerxes' instructions to Mardonius concerning the Athenians, Herod. viii. 140 τοῦτο μὲν τὴν γῆν σφι ἀπόδος· τοῦτο δέ, ἄλλην πρὸς ταύτη ἐλίσθων αὐτοί, ἢν τινα ἂν ἐθέλωσι, ἔόντες αὐτόνομοι.. ἦν δὲ βούλωνται γε ἔμοι ὁμολογέειν.

22. λαβοῦσι, § 7 note.

additional instinctive tolerable

πάποτε τὴν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πείσαι
 τοῖς ἰσχύουσι μὲν μὴ δίκαια δὲ πράττουσι προσθεμένην
 ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζομένη περὶ πρωτείων
 καὶ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης κινδυνεύουσα πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα
 204 διατετέλεκεν. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτω σεμνὰ καὶ προσήκοντα 5
 τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἤθεσιν ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε εἶναι, ὥστε
 καὶ τῶν προγόνων τοὺς ταῦτα πράξαντας μάλιστ'
 ἐπαινεῖτε. εἰκότως· τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀγάσαιο τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρετῆς, οἱ καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν
 πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπέμειναν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐμβάντες 10
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ κελευόμενον ποιῆσαι, τὸν μὲν ταῦτα
 συμβουλευσάντα Θεμιστοκλέα στρατηγὸν ἐλόμενοι,
 τὸν δ' ὑπακούειν ἀποφηνάμενον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις
 Κυρσίλον καταλιθώσαντες, οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 205 αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ ὑμέτεραι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. οὐ γὰρ 15
 ἐζήτουν οἱ τότε Ἀθηναῖοι οὔτε ῥήτορα οὔτε στρατη-
 γὸν δι' ὅτου δουλεύουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ζῆν ἡξίου, εἰ
 μὴ μετ' ἐλευθερίας ἐξέσται τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡγεῖτο γὰρ
 αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐχὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ μόνον
 γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι. διαφέρει δὲ τί; 20
 ὅτι ὁ μὲν τοῖς γονεῦσι μόνον γεγενῆσθαι νομίζων τὸν
 τῆς εἰμαρμένης καὶ τὸν αὐτόματον θάνατον περιμένει,
 ὁ δὲ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ταύτην ἐπιδεῖν δου-
 λεύουσιν ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθελήσει, καὶ φοβερωτέρας
 ἡγήσεται τὰς ὕβρεις καὶ τὰς ἀτιμίας, ἅς ἐν δουλευούσῃ 25
 τῇ πόλει φέρειν ἀνάγκη, τοῦ θανάτου.

203. 2. προσθεμένην, § 195.

204. 13. ἀποφηνάμενον, sc. τὴν γνώμην. cf. § 189.

14. Κυρσίλον is elsewhere unmentioned: but a precisely similar fate befell a senator Lycidas, when the Athenians were at Salamis *after* having taken to their ships, Herod. ix. 5.

205. 17. After δουλεύουσιν Dind.

has εὐτυχῶς.

22. θάνατον. Aul. Gell. xiii. I αὐτόματος θάνατος, *quasi naturalis*,... *nulla extrinsecus vi coactus venit*, as we should say 'death from natural causes.' τὸν τῆς εἰμαρμένης θάνατον is the death predestined for us by fate. The distinction between a predestined death, and one brought on oneself in antici-

days; and no one has yet been able, from the beginning of time, to persuade Athens, by attaching herself to might divorced from right, to accept a secure servitude; but during all her history she has constantly imperilled herself in struggles for primacy and honour and glory. And you conceive these **204** principles to be so sacred and so congenial to your character, that you especially praise those of your predecessors who carried them out. And you do so reasonably: for who would not admire the valour of those men who dared to embark upon the famous galleys and to forsake their country and their city that they might not obey dictation, having chosen as their commander the author of this advice, Themistocles, and having stoned to death the other, Cyrsilus, who proposed that they should respond to the terms laid upon them,—and not only the man himself, but our women also did the same to his wife? For that generation of Athenians did not seek **205** after an orator or commander to find them a road to slavery, but they were not even content to live unless they might do so in the enjoyment of freedom. For each of them considered that he had been born not only to his father or mother, but also to his country. And what is the difference? This, that while the man who fancies he has been born unto his parents only, awaits the death which is appointed by destiny and follows from natural causes; the other, who thinks he is a child of his country also, will be willing to be slain that he may not look on her servitude; and he will consider the affronts and the degradations which he would be compelled to endure in his city, were she subjugated, as more formidable than death.

pation of destiny by self-sacrifice, is obvious. Thus a patriot who rushed to battle and died for his country would be said to perish *ὑπὲρ μοίραν*, as Hom. Il. xx. 336, where Poseidon warns Aeneas off the field; compare Cicero, Phil. xii. 12. *30 mors aut necessitatem habeat fati, aut, si ante oppetenda est, oppetatur cum gloria,*

Tacit. Hist. i. 21 *si nocentem innocentemque idem exitus maneat, acrioris viri esse merito perire*, cf. Verg. Aen. iv. 696-7

*Nec fato merita nec morte peribat
Sed misera ante diem subitque accensa furore.*

But the distinction between a death from natural causes and a predestined

- 206 Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτ' ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὡς ἐγὼ
 προήγαγον ὑμᾶς ἄξια τῶν προγόνων φρονεῖν, οὐκ ἔσθ'
 ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμήσειέ μοι. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν
 ὑμετέρας τὰς τοιαύτας προαιρέσεις ἀποφαίνω, καὶ
 δείκνυμι ὅτι καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτ' εἶχε τὸ φρόνημα ἢ 5
 πόλις, τῆς μέντοι διακονίας τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν
 207 πεπραγμένων καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναί φημι, οὗτος δὲ τῶν
 ὅλων κατηγορῶν, καὶ κελεύων ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ πικρῶς ἔχειν
 ὡς φόβων καὶ κινδύνων αἰτίῳ τῇ πόλει, τῆς μὲν εἰς
 τὸ παρὸν τιμῆς ἐμὲ ἀποστερηῆσαι γλίχεται, τὰ δ' εἰς 10
 ἅπαντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐγκώμια ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεῖται.
 — εἰ γὰρ ὡς οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐμοῦ πολιτευσαμένου τουδὲ
 καταψηφιέσθε, ἡμαρτηκέναι δόξετε, οὐ τῇ τῆς τύχης
 208 ἀγνωμοσύνη τὰ συμβάντα παθεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν,
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν ὑπὲρ 15
 τῆς ἀπάντων ἐλευθερίας καὶ σωτηρίας κίνδυνον ἀρά-
 μνοι, μὰ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι προκινδυνεύσαντας τῶν
 προγόνων καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πλαταιαῖς παραταξαμένους
 καὶ τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ'
 Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις 20
 μνήμασι κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἅπαντας
 ὁμοίως ἢ πόλις τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιώσασα τιμῆς ἔθαψεν,
 Αἰσχίνη, οὐχὶ τοὺς κατορθώσαντας αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τοὺς
 κρατήσαντας μόνους. δικαίως δ' ἐμὲ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνδρῶν
 ἀγαθῶν ἔργον, ἅπασι πέπρακται, τῇ τύχῃ δ', ἣν ὁ 25

death is not so clear. It is made by Cicero, Phil. i. 4. 10 *multa autem impendere videntur praeter naturam etiam praeterque fatum*, and by Plin. Epist. i. 12 *mortis, quae non ex natura nec fatalis videtur*.

206, 207. Here Demosthenes—
 'crimina rasis

Librat in antithetis.'

εἰ μὲν τοῦτ' is answered by νῦν δ', ἐπε-

χείρουν λέγειν by ἀποφαίνω and δείκνυμι, ἐγὼ προήγαγον ὑμᾶς by ὑμετέρας, and ἐγὼ μὲν by οὗτος δέ: in the parenthesis (τῆς μέντοι . . φημι), διακονίας is contrasted with προαιρέσεις and φρόνημα, ἐφ' ἐκάστοις with the following τῶν ὅλων, and καὶ ἐμαυτῷ μετεῖναι with the preceding ὑμετέρας: lastly τῆς . . τιμῆς is in manifest opposition to τὰ . . ἐγκώμια, ἐμὲ to ὑμῶν, and ἀποστε-

Therefore, if this were what I attempted to say, namely, 206 that it was I who induced you to breathe thoughts worthy of your ancestors, there is no one who would not rightly rebuke me. In reality, while I on my part proclaim these principles as your own, and demonstrate that, long before my time, the city had this spirit—in the execution only of the measures attending each set of events, I affirm that I myself also had a share—my opponent, on the contrary, by 207 assailing our whole policy, and bidding you be embittered against me as the cause of panic and peril to the state, thirsts apparently to deprive me of my momentary honour, but really tries to steal from you an immortality of glory. For if you shall give your votes against my client because I did not take the best measures, you will prove yourselves to have committed errors, and not to have suffered what occurred through the ungentleness of fortune. But it cannot be, it cannot be 208 that you erred, men of Athens, when you took upon yourselves to fight the battle for the liberty and security of all. Witness those of your ancestors who bore the brunt of the danger at Marathon, those who kept the ranks at Plataea, those who fought on shipboard in the waters of Salamis or over against Artemisium, and many other gallant men who are laid in the public tombs,—all of whom, Aeschines, the city thought equally worthy of the same distinction, and buried there not the successful among them and not the victorious only. And this is right: for all have performed the duty of gallant men, and then submitted to the fortune

ρῆσαι γλίχεται το ἀφαιρείται.

13. ἡμαρτηκέναι, i.e. if you condemn my measures, you condemn yourselves, because you sanctioned them.

208. 17. προκινδυνεύσαντες κ.τ.λ. is a reminiscence of the speech of the Athenian envoys, Thuc. i. 73 φάμεν γὰρ Μαραθῶνι τε μόντοι προκινδυνεύσαι τῷ Βαρβάρῳ κ.τ.λ.

21. μνήμασι. Compare Thuc. ii. 34

τιθεάσιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὃ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως, καὶ αἱ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτονται τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλὴν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι· ἐκείνων δὲ διαπρεπὴ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναντες αὐτοῦ (on the field of Marathon) καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν. The 'fairest suburb' of Athens was the Ceramicus.

Thebes was successful

- 209 δαίμων ἔνειμεν ἑκάστοις, ταύτῃ κέχρηται. ἔπειτ',
 ὧ κατάρατε καὶ γραμματοκύφων, σὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ
 τουτωνὶ τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἔμ' ἀποστερηῆσαι βου-
 λόμενος τρόπαια καὶ μάχας καὶ παλαιὰ ἔργα ἔλεγες,
 ὧν τίνος προσεδεῖτο ὁ παρὼν ἀγὼν οὕτοσί; ἐμὲ δέ, ὧ 5
 τριταγωνιστά, περὶ τῶν πρωτείων σύμβουλον τῇ πόλει
 παριόντα τὸ τίνος φρόνημα λαβόντ' ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ
 βῆμ' ἔδει; τὸ τοῦ τούτων ἀνάξια ἐροῦντος; δικαίως
- 210 μέντ' ἂν ἀπέθανον· ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς διανοίας δεῖ τὰς τε ιδίας δίκας καὶ τὰς 10
 δημοσίας κρίνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίου
 συμβόλαια ἐπὶ τῶν ιδίων νόμων καὶ ἔργων σκοποῦντας,
 τὰς δὲ κοινὰς προαιρέσεις εἰς τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἀξιώ-
 ματα ἀποβλέποντας. καὶ παραλαμβάνειν γε ἅμα τῇ
 βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ συμβόλῳ τὸ φρόνημα τὸ τῆς πόλεως 15
 νομίζειν ἕκαστον ὑμῶν δεῖ, ὅταν τὰ δημόσια εἰσίστητε
 κρινούντες, εἴ περ ἄξια ἐκείνων πράττειν οἴεσθε χρῆναι.
- 211 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα τοῖς προ-
 γόνοις ὑμῶν ἔστιν ἅ τῶν ψηφισμάτων παρέβην καὶ
 τῶν πραχθέντων. ἐπανελθεῖν οὖν, ὁπόθεν ἐνταῦθ' 20
 ἐξέβην, βούλομαι.
- Ὡς γὰρ ἀφικόμεθ' εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν
 Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων
 παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν
 φόβῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς. ὅτι δ' οὐ νῦν ταῦτα 25
 λέγω τοῦ συμφέροντος ἕνεκα ἐμαυτῷ, λέγε μοι τὴν

209. 4. ἔλεγες, Aesch. c. Ct. § 181.
 5. προσεδεῖτο. The preposition im-
 plies that these topics were an un-
 necessary addition to the case.

6. τριταγωνιστά in opposition to
 πρωτείων.

Before περὶ Dind. has τόν.

8. τούτων refers to παλαιὰ ἔργα.

210. 9. ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὑμᾶς. *I speak of
 my duty towards the past, for you too
 must not neglect it, but decide cases
 like this by precedent.* Cf. § 101 ἐπεὶ
 note. Here there is a variant ἔπειτα.

12. ἐπὶ .. σκοποῦντας. Cf. §§ 17,
 233, 294.

13. ἀξιώματα, 'praeclara facta'

which Providence meted to each brave company. In spite of **209** all this, you, the abomination, the poring clerk, athirst to rob me of the honour and benevolence of my countrymen, talked of trophies and battles and ancient exploits, although the present suit required the introduction of none of them: I, sir third-actor, on advancing to advise my City how to play the first part, ask you, whose spirit I ought to have caught as I went up to the platform? The spirit of a man who should speak unworthily of our past glories? On the contrary, I should have been justly slain. Nay, you too, men of Athens, **210** must not adjudicate private and public suits in the same frame of mind. The contracts of every-day life you must decide by examining them in the light of the special laws and facts, principles of national policy by lifting your eyes to the high ordinances of your ancestors; ay, and each of you ought to imagine, that, together with your staff and token, when you enter the court to decide public issues, you take into your keeping the spirit of your Country, if indeed you think you should act in a manner worthy of your forefathers.

However, in launching upon the deeds of your fathers I **211** have neglected certain decrees and transactions. I wish therefore to go back again to the point from which I turned so far out of my way.

When we arrived at Thebes we found the ambassadors of Philip and of the Thessalians and his other allies present, and our friends full of fear, but his full of courage. And, to prove that this is not a statement I make now to further my own interest, please read the letter which we, your ambassadors,

(Dissem), or 'what our ancestors thought befitting.'

15. **συμβόλῳ**. The ticket of the Heliast bore the number of the court in which he was to attend, and had afterwards to be produced to the prytanes to secure the fee.

211. 20. **ἐνταῦθ'**. Dind. has **εἰς**

ταῦτα.

23. **συμμάχων**. Puta Aenianum, Dolopum, Phthiolarum, Aetolorum (Dissem).

25. **νῦν** is emphatic, 'now for the first time,' i.e. having said nothing about this, or having told a different tale, before.

ἐπιστολὴν ἣν τότε ἐπέμψαμεν εὐθὺς οἱ πρέσβεις.
 212 καίτοι τοσαύτῃ γ' ὑπερβολῇ συκοφαντίας οὗτος κέ-
 χρηται, ὥστ' εἰ μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων ἐπράχθη, τὸν
 καιρόν, οὐκ ἐμέ φησιν αἴτιον γεγενῆσθαι, τῶν δ' ὡς
 ἐτέρως συμβάντων ἀπάντων ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην 5
 αἰτίαν εἶναι, καὶ ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ σύμβουλος καὶ ῥήτωρ
 ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἐκ λόγου καὶ τοῦ βουλευσασθαι πρα-
 χθέντων οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συναίτιος εἶναι δοκῶ, τῶν δ' ἐν
 τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀτυχηθέντων
 μόνος αἴτιος εἶναι. πῶς ἂν ὁμότερος συκοφάντης 10
 γένοιτ' ἢ καταρατότερος; Λέγε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

213 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσ-
 ἦγον ἐκείνους προτέρους διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων
 τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παρελθόντες ἐδημηγόρουν
 πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν 15
 κατηγοροῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ' ἐναντία ἐπράξατε
 Θηβαίοις ἀναμιμνήσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον,
 ἡξίουں ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν
 αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἡδίκηντο δίκην
 λαβεῖν, ὁποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' 20
 ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβалόντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, καὶ ἐδείκνυ-
 σαν, ὡς ᾤοντο, ἐκ μὲν ὧν αὐτοὶ συνεβούλευον τὰ
 ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰλλ'
 ἀγαθὰ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἤξοντα, ἐκ δὲ ὧν ἡμᾶς ἐρεῖν
 ἔφασαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ διαρπασθησόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ 25
 πολέμου. καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τούτοις, εἰς ταῦτα
 214 δὲ πάντα συντείνοντ' ἔλεγον. ἃ δ' ἡμεῖς πρὸς ταῦτα,

212. Aeschin. c. Ct. § 140-143.

2. καίτοι, § 180 note.

8. οὐδέν. Dind. has οὐδενός.

213. 12. ἐποιήσαντο, sc. οἱ Θηβαῖοι.

18. πεπόνθεσαν without augment is characteristic of older Attic idiom.

despatched immediately on our arrival. Here I may say **212** that my opponent has employed such an exaggeration of calumny as to affirm, if any timely measure was executed, that circumstances, and not I, have brought it about, while, on the other hand, he asserts that I and my fortune are responsible for all that turned out adversely; so, according to his showing, I, your adviser and orator, appear to him to have no share in bringing about those measures which were executed in consequence of discussion and deliberation, but to be solely responsible for the disasters which took place in arms and in the province of generalship. How could a traducer be more bloodthirsty or more abominable? Read the letter.

LETTER.

When, therefore, they had formed the assembly, they in- **213** troduced our antagonists first, because they held the position of allies. And these came forward and delivered an harangue, eulogising Philip, but accusing you, on many counts, calling up all the actions you ever did in opposition to the Thebans. However, as their capital proposition, they required them to make a return of gratitude for the good treatment they had received from Philip, and at the same time to get satisfaction for the wrongs they had suffered at your hands, in which ever of two ways they chose, either by having given the speakers' party a passage through their country in order to attack you, or by having united with them in an expedition into Attica; and they proved, as they fancied, that, in consequence of what they themselves recommended, the cattle and slave chattels, and the other property of Attica, would come into Boeotia, while, in consequence of what they declared we were going to say, property in Boeotia would be devastated by the war. And they added much else to this, all converging to the same purport. And, although I personally should prize as highly **214**

214. 27. After ταῦτα Dind. has ἀντρέπομεν.

Observe that the main antithesis is

between τὰ μὲν καθ' ἑκάστα and ὅ τι δ' οὖν, with an inner antithesis of ἐγὼ μὲν to ὑμᾶς δέ.

τὰ μὲν καθ' ἕκαστα ἐγὼ μὲν ἀντὶ παντὸς ἂν τιμη-
 σαίμην εἰπεῖν τοῦ βίου, ὑμᾶς δὲ δέδοικα, μὴ παρε-
 ληλυθότων τῶν καιρῶν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ κατακλυσμὸν
 γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγούμενοι, μάταιον ὄχλον
 τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους νομίσητε· ὁ τι δ' οὖν ἐπέι- 5
 σαμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀκούσατε. Λέγε
 ταυτὶ λαβών.

ΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΙΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΩΝ.

- 215 Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐκάλουν ὑμᾶς καὶ μετεπέμποντο.
 ἐξῆντε, ἐβοηθεῖτε, ἵνα τὰν μέσῳ παραλείπω, οὕτως 10
 οἰκείως ὑμᾶς ἐδέχοντο, ὥστ' ἔξω τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν
 ἱππέων ὄντων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἄστυ δέχεσθαι τὴν
 στρατιὰν ἐπὶ παιδᾶς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα.
 καίτοι τρία ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔδει-
 ξαν ἐγκώμια Θηβαῖοι καθ' ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, ἐν μὲν 15
 ἀνδρίας, ἕτερον δὲ δικαιοσύνης, τρίτον δὲ σωφροσύνης.
 καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἀγῶνα μᾶλλον μεθ' ὑμῶν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 ἐλόμενοι ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ δικαιότερ'
 ἀξιοῦν ὑμᾶς ἔκριναν Φιλίππου· καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς
 καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δ' ἐν πλείστῃ φυλακῇ, παιδᾶς καὶ 20
 γυναῖκας, ἐφ' ὑμῖν ποιήσαντες σωφροσύνης πίστιν περὶ
 216 ὑμῶν ἔχοντες ἔδειξαν. ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
 κατὰ γ' ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς ἐφάνησαν ἐγνωκότες. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς
 τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου οὔδεις οὐδὲν
 οὐδὲ ἀδίκως ὑμῖν ἐνεκάλεσεν· οὕτω σώφρονας παρέ- 25
 σχετε ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· δῖς τε συμπαραταξάμενοι τὰς

1. παντὸς . . τοῦ βίου might possibly mean 'all my substance,' 'all I am worth.'

3. ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ κ.τ.λ. In full this would run ὥσπερ ἂν [ἡγέσθαι] εἰ [ἐνομίσατε] κατακλυσμὸν γεγενῆσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡγούμενοι.

καί is omitted by Dindorf before

κατακλυσμὸν.

4. ὄχλον. See Shilleto on Fals. Leg. § 27. p. 348.

6. Before ἡμῖν Dind. has the much wanted ἄ.

215. 10. τὰν μέσῳ, Aeschines, §§ 148 sqq.

11. ὀπλιτῶν, sc. τῶν Θηβαίων.

as my whole life the permission to relate in full detail our reply to this, yet I am afraid of you, lest, now that the crises are gone by, regarding the matter as you would if you thought a deluge had passed over the events, you should consider discussions about them a gratuitous annoyance : at any rate, hear how we persuaded them and how they answered us. Take and read these documents.

REPLY OF THE THEBANS.

After this, accordingly, they invited and sent for you. You 215 marched out ; you rescued them—to omit what took place in the interval ; they received you so familiarly, that, though their own heavy infantry and cavalry were outside the walls, they admitted your expeditionary troops into their houses and their city, to take charge of their children and wives and all that was most precious. And let me remark that, on that day the Thebans paid you, in the sight of the world, three most honourable compliments—the first to your valour, the second to your uprightness, and the third to your morality. For undoubtedly, when they chose to conduct the contest on your side rather than against you, they decided both that you were better men and that you made more righteous demands than Philip ; and when they placed in your guardianship what with them, and with all men too, are most carefully protected, their wives and children, they showed that they relied on you for sobriety. In all this, men of Athens, they were proved to have judged 216 rightly in your case at any rate. For, when our army had entered their city, no one brought any complaint against you, even unjustly, so rightminded did you keep yourselves ; nay, when you took the field with them in the first engagements, the

14. *καίτοι*, § 180 note.

15. *καθ' ὑμῶν*. The same force of the preposition is found Phil. ii. § 9. p. 68 ὁ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον. Aeschin. c. Ct. § 50 οἱ κατὰ Δημοσθένους ἔπαινοι.

20. καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι δέ. This καὶ is not parallel to the καὶ immediately

preceding, which couples the present to the previous sentence, but is to be taken with παρὰ πᾶσι, forming a parenthesis brought into the main construction by δέ.

216 26. τὰς πρώτας, sc. τάξεις or μάχας. The latter is read by Dind.

πρώτας, τὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὴν χειμερινήν, οὐκ ἀμέμπτους μόνον ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἐδείξατε τῷ κόσμῳ, ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, τῇ προθυμίᾳ. ἐφ' οἷς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν ἐγίνοντο 217 ἔπαινοι, παρὰ δ' ὑμῶν θυσίαι καὶ πομπαὶ τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ 5 ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν ἐροίμην Αἰσχίνην, ὅτε ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο καὶ ζήλου καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ ἐπαίνων ἢ πόλις ἦν μεστή, πότερον συνέθυε καὶ συνευφραίνετο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ λυπούμενος καὶ στένων καὶ δυσμεναίνων τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἴκοι καθήτο. εἰ μὲν γὰρ παρῇν καὶ μετὰ 10 τῶν ἄλλων ἐξητάζετο, πῶς οὐ δεινὰ ποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' οὐδ' ὅσια, εἰ ὧν ὡς ἀρίστων αὐτὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐποιήσατο μάρτυρας, ταῦθ' ὡς οὐκ ἄριστα νῦν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῖ ψηφίσασθαι, τοὺς ὁμωμοκότας τοὺς θεοὺς; εἰ δὲ μὴ παρῇν, πῶς οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι πολλάκις ἐστὶ δίκαιος, 15 εἰ ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι, ταῦτα ἐλυπεῖτο ὀρών; Λέγε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματά μοι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΘΥΣΙΩΝ.

218 Οὐκοῦν ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν θυσίαις ἤμεν τότε, Θηβαῖοι δ' ἐν τῷ δι' ἡμᾶς σεσῶσθαι νομίζειν, καὶ περιειστῆκει 20 τοῖς βοηθείας δεήσεσθαι νομίζουσιν ἅφ' ὧν ἔπραττον οὗτοι, αὐτοὺς βοηθεῖν ἑτέροις ἐξ ὧν ἐπέισθητ' ἐμοί. ἀλλὰ μὴν οἷας τότε ἠφίει φωνὰς ὁ Φίλιππος καὶ ἐν οἷαις ἦν ταραχαῖς ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἐκείνου μαθήσεσθε ὧν εἰς Πελοπόννησον 25 ἔπεμπεν. καὶ μοι λέγε ταύτας λαβών, ἵν' εἰδῇτε, ἢ ἐμὴ συνέχεια καὶ πλάνοι καὶ τάλαιπωρίαὶ καὶ τὰ

1. χειμερινήν must mean 'in the winter.' See Introduction I.

217. Compare § 323.

7. ἐπαίνων. Cobet here and Fals. Leg. § 97. p. 368 would read παίωνων.

11. ἐξητάζετο. Cf. § 173 note.

218. 20. ἐν τῷ .. νομίζειν is a little unusual, but is here employed to emphasize by symmetry of expression the contrasts ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν .., Θηβαῖοι δ' ἐν .., ἀλλὰ μὴν .. ὁ Φίλιππος .. ἐν κ.τ.λ.

21. νομίζουσιν. Dind. has δοκούσιν.

battle by the river and the winter battle, you not only showed yourselves irreproachable, but models of discipline, equipment, zeal. On these accounts—compliments were paid you by the other states, and sacrifices and processions were paid the gods by yourselves. And I should like to ask Aeschines, ²¹⁷ whether, when these things were being done and the city was full of enthusiasm and joy and eulogies, he joined in sacrificing and rejoicing with the multitude, or whether he sat at home grieved and groaning and ill at ease because of our national blessings? For, if he was present and was found in his place with the rest, is he not acting shamefully, or rather profanely, when he demands that you, who have sworn by the gods, should now decree that those things were not most excellent, to whose excellence he himself called the gods to testify? But, if he was not present, is he not fit to die many deaths, because he grieved to behold what the rest of the nation rejoiced over? Now please read these decrees also.

either

DECREES CONCERNING SACRIFICES.

Thus we were busy with sacrifices at that time, while the ²¹⁸ Thebans were full of the thought that they had been delivered through our action; and it had come about that you, who feared that you would require assistance, as the indirect consequence of my opponents' intrigues, lent assistance yourselves to others, as the direct consequence of what you were actually persuaded to do by me. But further, what cries Philip then uttered, and in what bewilderment he was after these events, you will learn from his own letters, which he sent to the Peloponnese. Please take and read these to me, that my hearers may know what my persistency and gadding about

ἀφ' ὧν . . . ἐξ ὧν. The change of preposition is not due to the mere love of variety, but marks a distinction between the indirect consequences of the intrigues of Aeschines' party, and the direct effect of the proposals of Demosthenes.

23. ἡφίει φωνάς, § 195 note.

27. ἡ ἐμὴ συνέχεια κ.τ.λ. would ordinarily have been brought under the regimen of εἰδῆτε, as an accusative,

since it is separated from the verb to which it is the subject by the interrogative τί. The suspension of the construction, however, caused by this postponement of the interrogative, calls special attention to the character of Demosthenes' acts, and its sharp resumption to their surprising effectiveness.

27. πλάνοι, probably through the states named in § 237.

πολλὰ ψηφίσματα, ἃ νῦν οὗτος διέσυρε, τί ἀπειργάσατο.

- 219 Καίτοι πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γέγονασι ρήτορες ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι πρὸ ἐμοῦ, Καλλίστρατος ἐκείνος, Ἀριστοφῶν, Κέφαλος, Θρασύβουλος, 5 ἕτεροι μυρίοι· ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων διὰ παντὸς ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν γράφων οὐκ ἂν ἐπρέσβευσεν, ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύων οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψεν. ὑπέλειπε γὰρ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ ἅμα μὲν 220 ῥαστώνην, ἅμα δ', εἴ τι γένοιτ', ἀναφοράν. τί οὖν; 10 εἴποι τις ἄν, σὺ τοσοῦτον ὑπερήρας ῥώμη καὶ τόλμη ὥστε πάντα ποιεῖν αὐτός; οὐ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπεπείσμην μέγαν εἶναι τὸν κατειληφότα κίνδυνον τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' οὐκ ἔδόκει μοι χώραν οὐδὲ πρόνοιαν οὐδεμίαν τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας διδόναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν 15 221 εἶναι, εἰ μηδὲν παραλείπων τις ἃ δεῖ πράξειεν. ἐπεπείσμην δ' ὑπὲρ ἑμαυτοῦ, τυχὸν μὲν ἀναισθητῶν, ὅμως δ' ἐπεπείσμην, μήτε γράφοντ' ἂν ἐμοῦ γράψαι βέλτιον 20 μηδένα, μήτε πράττοντα πράξαι, μήτε πρεσβεύοντα πρεσβεῦσαι προθυμότερον μηδὲ δικαιότερον. διὰ ταῦτα 20 ἐν πᾶσιν ἑμαυτὸν ἔταττον. Λέγε τὰς ἐπιστολάς τὰς τοῦ Φιλίππου.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ.

- 222 Εἰς ταῦτα κατέστησε Φίλιππον ἡ ἐμὴ πολιτεία, Αἰσχίνῃ· ταύτην τὴν φωνὴν ἐκείνος ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς 25 καὶ θρασεῖς τὰ πρὸ τούτων τῇ πόλει ἐπαιρόμενος

219. 3. Καίτοι, § 180 note.

6. ἕτεροι μυρίοι. For the asyndeton compare the similar passage Fals. Leg. 339. p. 436 ἔτι τοίνυν πολλοὶ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπὶ καιρῶν γεγόνασιν ἰσχυροί, Καλλίστρατος, αὖθις Ἀριστοφῶν, Διόφαντος, τούτων ἕτεροι πρότερον, and see Shil-

let's note, ib. § 377 just preceding.

7. ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς, § 88 note.

8. ἂν, with aorist or imperfect indicative, when not used conditionally, adds a notion of indefinite frequency.

10. ἀναφοράν, 'a means of shifting responsibility to others.' Compare c.

and hardships and those numerous decrees, which my opponent just now maligned, managed to effect.

Observe here that there have arisen in your midst, men of 219 Athens, many distinguished and great orators before my time, the famous Callistratus, Aristophon, Cephalus, Thrasybulus, and countless others; none, however, of these ever devoted himself thoroughly to the state for any object, but the proposer of an embassy would have refused to go on the embassy, or a member of the embassy would not have been its proposer. For each of them left open to himself, at one and the same time, an opportunity for personal ease, and also, in case of mishap, a means to refer the blame to others. 'What now?' some one may ask, 'have you so far trans-220 cended the rest in strength and daring as to do all yourself?' I do not say that; but I was convinced that the danger which had overtaken the state was so great, that it did not seem to admit any place or precaution for personal security, but that it was a cause for satisfaction if one could do what was necessary without any omission. And I was 221 persuaded too, in my own case, perhaps blindly, nevertheless I was persuaded, that no one in his propositions would propose better measures than mine, nor in execution carry them out more successfully, nor as ambassador perform an ambassador's duty more zealously or more uprightly. It was for these reasons that, in every case, I took the post myself. Read Philip's letters.

by the
fruits
shall
then

LETTERS.

To this, Aeschines, my policy reduced Philip; this was the 222 cry he uttered, though he previously menaced the state with

Tim. § 13. p. 704 ἔδωκε γνώμην Εὐκλήμων . . ὑμᾶς μὲν εἰσπράττειν τοὺς τριηράρχους, ἐκείνοις δ' εἶναι περὶ αὐτῶν εἰς τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀναφορὰν. The verb ἀνενεγκεῖν § 224 is not quite similar, there meaning 'to refer to precedents.'

220. 11. After ὑπερήσας Dind. has

τοὺς ἄλλους.

12. οὕτως must be taken closely with μέγαν, as κίνδυνος is the subject of ἔδοκει.

14. χώραν. Shaefer would read ὥραν, 'care.'

222. 25. φωνήν . . ἀφῆκε, § 195.

λόγους. ἀνθ' ὧν δικαίως ἐστεφανούμην ὑπὸ τουτωνί, καὶ σὺ παρὼν οὐκ ἀντέλεγες, ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος Διώνδας τὸ μέρος τῶν ψήφων οὐκ ἔλαβεν. Καί μοι λαβὲ ταῦτα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὰ τότε μὲν ἀποπεφευγότα, ὑπὸ τούτου δ' οὐδὲ γραφέντα.

5

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

- 223 Ταῦτ' ἐστὶν τὰ ψηφίσματα ὧν ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς αὐτὰς συλλαβὰς καὶ ταῦτ' ῥήματ' ἔχει, ἅπερ πρότερον μὲν Ἀριστόνικος νῦν δὲ Κτησιφῶν γέγραπεν οὕτως. καὶ ταῦτ' Αἰσχίνης οὗτ' ἐδίωξεν αὐτὸς οὔτε τῷ γραψαμένῳ 10 συγκατηγόρησεν. καίτοι τότε τὸν Δημομέλη τὸν ταῦτα γράφοντα καὶ τὸν Ὑπερίδην, εἴ περ ἀληθῆ μου νῦν
- 224 κατηγορεῖ, μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως ἢ τόνδ' ἐδίωκεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῷδε μὲν ἔστ' ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὰς τῶν δικαστηρίων γνώσεις καὶ τὸ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐκείνων μὴ 15 κατηγορηκέναι ταῦτα γραψάντων ἅπερ οὗτος νῦν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς νόμους μηκέτ' ἔαν περὶ τῶν οὕτω πραχθέντων κατηγορεῖν, καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα· τότε δ' αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ'
- 225 ἂν ἐκρίνετο ἐφ' αὐτοῦ, πρὶν τι τούτων προλαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν οἶμαι τότε ὁ νυνὶ ποιεῖν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων 20 καὶ ψηφισμάτων πολλῶν ἐκλέξαντα, ἃ μήτε προῆδει μηδεὶς μήτ' ἂν ᾤκηται τήμερον ῥηθῆναι, διαβάλλειν, καὶ μετενεγκόντα τοὺς χρόνους καὶ προφάσεις ἀντὶ τῶν ἀληθῶν ψευδεῖς μεταθέντα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
- 226 δοκεῖν τι λέγειν. οὐκ ἦν τότε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς 25 ἀληθείας, ἐγγὺς τῶν ἔργων, ἔτι μεμνημένων ὑμῶν καὶ

4. ἀποπεφευγότα is used of ψηφίσματα by an impersonification.

223. 11. Δημομέλη. Dind. has Δημομέλην.

224. 16. οὗτος, Ctesiphon, who is generally spoken of as ὁδε: but see § 223.

19. ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, 'on its own basis.' ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ would mean 'as a first case.' It has been proposed to render ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, 'at its own date,' but cf. § 226 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας § 17, and ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν § 16.

ἀνενεγκεῖν, § 219 note.

many bold expressions. For these services it was justly proposed that I should be crowned by my countrymen, and, though present, you did not speak in opposition to the proposal; and Diondas, who laid the indictment, did not secure his proportion of the votes. Please take these decrees, which were then absolved, and not even indicted by my opponent.

DECREES.

These decrees, men of Athens, contain the same syllables **223** and the same phrases which Aristonicus at an earlier date, and Ctesiphon, my client, has recently drafted: and these are the decrees which Aeschines did not personally prosecute, nor take part in the accusation with the man who indicted them. Yet, if indeed his present accusations against me are true, he would have prosecuted, at that earlier time, Demomeles, the author of these proposals, and Hyperides, much more reasonably than the present defendant. How so? Because, **224** in the present case, Ctesiphon can justify himself by reference to these earlier instances, can point to the decisions of the courts, can plead that Aeschines himself has not indicted the others although they drafted the same propositions in their bills as my client has done in his, can plead that the laws cease to allow indictments on matters already settled by usage, and can urge many other pleas of a different character: whereas, in the earlier cases, the matter would have been decided simply on its own merits, before it had acquired any of these precedents. However, as I surmise, there was no **225** chance then to do as he does now, to collect pickings out of a number of antique chronicles and decrees, which of course no one knew of before or expected to be cited to-day, in order to establish his libel, nor to shift dates and substitute false motives for what was done instead of the true motives, in order to produce the semblance of an argument. In the **226** former cases this was not possible, but all statements must then have been accurately made, as the facts were not far to

προλαβεῖν. Shaefer prefers the variant προσλαβεῖν, but cf. § 314 προλαβόντα, note.

225. 20. ποιεῖν. Dind. has ποιεῖ.

21. ἃ μήτε, probably 'things which he thought no one knew before.'

226. 25. τι λέγειν, 'to have something to say.' For the emphatic use of τις cf. Pind. Pyth. viii. 95 (135) τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; 'what is a somebody? what is a nobody?'

Ex Libris

μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἕκαστα ἐχόντων, πάντες ἐγίγνοντ' ἂν οἱ λόγοι. διόπερ τοὺς παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματ' ἐλέγχους φυγὼν νῦν ἤκει, ρητόρων ἀγῶνα νομίζων, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ οὐχὶ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐξέτασιν ποιήσῃν ὑμᾶς, καὶ λόγου κρίσιν, οὐχὶ 5 τοῦ τῇ πόλει συμφέροντος ἔσεσθαι.

- 227 Εἵτα σοφίζεται, καὶ φησὶ προσήκειν ἧς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἤκετ' ἔχοντες δόξης περὶ ἡμῶν ἀμελήσαι, ὥσπερ δ', ὅταν οἰόμενοι περιεῖναι χρήματά τῳ λογίξησθε, ἂν καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ μηδὲν περιῇ, συγχωρεῖτε, 10 οὕτω καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαινομένοις προσθέσθαι. θεάσασθε τοίνυν ὡς σαθρόν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐστὶ
- 228 φύσει πᾶν ὃ τι ἂν μὴ δικαίως ἢ πεπραγμένον. ἐκ

2. τοὺς παρ' αὐτά, § 15.

3. ρητόρων ἀγῶνα. Another reminiscence of Thucydides, cf. iii. 67 ποιήσατε δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι παράδειγμα οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες ἀλλ' ἔργων. Compare Fals. Leg. § 239, p. 408 οὐ γὰρ ρητόρων οὐδὲ λόγων κρίσιν ὑμᾶς τήμερον, εἴπερ εὖ φρονεῖτε, προσήκει ποιεῖν, on which Shilleto quotes Thuc. iii. 38 αἵτιοι δ' ὑμᾶς κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες, οἵτινες εἰώθατε θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων γίγνεσθαι, ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων, .. σοφιστῶν θεαταῖς ἔοικότες καθημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ πόλεως βουλευομένοις.

227. 7. καὶ φησὶ κ.τ.λ. The passage of Aeschines' speech here referred to is, in effect, as follows: He says (§ 54), 'I must refresh your memories on the subject of Demosthenes' iniquities during the first period of his political life. (§ 57.) He did not save the state—heaven and Philip's moderation and courtesy did that—but seriously injured Athens by his corrupt practices. (§ 59.) You may be surprised at my saying that Demosthenes prevented Athens from making the peace in conjunction with the other Hellenic communities. Please listen to me in the same temper as when we sit down to balance the accounts of

moneys the expenditure of which has spread over a long period. We often leave home with false impressions about the results to which the computation will lead us: but when the process is completed and the balance is struck we are rationally bound to abide by what it shows. (§ 60.) Some of you thought that Demosthenes never worked with Philocrates for Philip. Listen to the facts before you decide. If I show you that Demosthenes did more than Philocrates to promote the peace (§ 61), to fawn on Philip and his ambassadors, to prevent the united action of the Hellenes, and to throw over your ally Cersobleptes, then abide by the facts set before you and admit that Demosthenes did the reverse of "well."

The gist then of Aeschines' argument is: 'It is supposed that Demosthenes at that time did much that is to his credit; let me show you that he did much which is to his discredit, and let me call upon you to take this into account as a set-off against anything else.'

To this Demosthenes has previously replied by proving that the discreditable imputations are untrue. He now (§§ 227-231) goes further, and de-

seek, and as you still remembered and had almost at your fingers' ends each set of transactions. That is why he has shirked the investigations that should immediately have followed the acts and puts in an appearance now, fancying, as far as I can gather, that you are going to conduct an oratorical contest, not an examination of measures of state, and that a verdict is to be passed on points of rhetoric not on Athenian interests.

More than this, he starts a fallacy, and says that it is incumbent on you, first to disregard the opinion which you entertained about us when you came from your homes; and then, that, just as in looking over a man's accounts under the impression that he has a surplus, if you find that the figures are destructive and that no surplus survives, you are bound to accede, so, in the present instance also, it is incumbent on you to surrender to the results demonstrated by his argument. Thus may we see how cankered, as we might expect, in the very germ, is every unjust act. For by using this selfsame

monstrates that Aeschines' method of argument is fallacious. Facts are not like figures. You cannot cancel away my good deeds. They are there, done, and memorable for ever. As to Philip's courtesy, you enjoyed that because you took the honourable course of action suggested by me.

Some difficulty has been imported into these sections by inquiring too closely into the special nature of the accounts spoken of in the illustration; but there is nothing said in either speech to lead us to think that any one class of accounts is specially alluded to. In general terms Aeschines suggests, and Demosthenes repudiates, the application of the method of arithmetic to politics.

9. τῷ is constructed ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with both περιεῖναι and λογίζεσθαι.

10. καθαιρῶσιν. Two boards (ἀβακία), each divided into columns—the columns being valued in order as representing units, tens, hundreds, etc.—and provided with pebbles (ψῆφοι) for counters, would be necessary to

calculate a debit and credit account. If, by taking a counter of equal value simultaneously from each, and repeating the process as long as this was possible, it resulted that both boards were simultaneously cleared (i.e. if there remained no balance on either side), then, says Dissen, 'dicitur καθαῖραι εἶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι.' So Dind., with some MSS., reads καθαῖραι ὄσιν. But there is a want of support for the phrase, of which no other instances are quoted. Nor does Aeschines, or Demosthenes himself, at all imply or suggest that a precisely exact balance is expected. Hence the reading καθαιρῶσιν is to be preferred, especially as it has in its favour the weight of MS. authority. αἰρεῖν is often used absolutely (as in Aeschines c. Ct. § 59) of the issue of an argument or calculation: so ἂν καθαιρῶσιν αἱ ψῆφοι will mean, 'if the figures lead to a destructive result.'

11. προσθέσθαι, sc. προσήκειν. For meaning cf. §§ 39, 195.

12. ὡς σαθρὸν κ.τ.λ. The thought is, every crime contains within itself the

Ἐγὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σοφοῦ τούτου παραδείγματος ὡμολόγηκε
 νῦν γ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωσμένους ἐμὲ μὲν λέγειν
 ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου· οὐ γὰρ
 ἂν μεταπίθαι ὑμᾶς ἐξήτει μὴ τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς
 229 ὑπαρχούσης ὑπολήψεως περὶ ἐκατέρου. καὶ μὴν ὅτι 5
 γε οὐ δίκαια λέγει μεταθέσθαι ταύτην τὴν δόξαν
 ἀξιῶν, ἐγὼ διδάξω ῥαδίως, οὐ τιθεὶς ψήφους (οὐ γὰρ
 ἔστιν ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων οὗτος λογισμὸς) ἀλλ' ἀνα-
 μιμνήσκων ἕκαστα ἐν βραχείσι, λογισταῖς ἅμα καὶ
 μάρτυσι τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὑμῖν χρώμενος. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ 10
 πολιτεία, ἧς οὗτος κατηγορεῖ, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ Θηβαίου
 230 μετὰ Φιλίππου συνεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ὃ πάντες
 ᾤοντο, μεθ' ἡμῶν παραταξαμένους ἐκείνον κωλύειν
 ἐποίησεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι
 ἑπτακόσια στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς Βοιωτῶν 15
 ὁρίοις γενέσθαι, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τοὺς ληστὰς ἡμᾶς φέρειν
 καὶ ἄγειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ
 θαλάττης εἶναι πάντα τὸν πόλεμον, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν
 Ἑλλησποντον ἔχειν Φίλιππον, λαβόντα Βυζάντιον,
 συμπολεμεῖν τοὺς Βυζαντίους μεθ' ἡμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνον. 20
 231 ἄρα σοι ψήφοις ὅμοιος ὁ τῶν ἔργων λογισμὸς φαίνε-
 ται; ἢ δεῖν ἀντανελεῖν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅπως τὸν
 ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονευθήσεται σκέψασθαι; καὶ
 οὐκέτι προστίθῃμι ὅτι τῆς μὲν ὁμότητος, ἣν ἐν οἷς
 καθάπαξ τινῶν κύριος κατέστη Φίλιππος ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, 25
 ἐτέροις πειραθῆναι συνέβη, τῆς δὲ φιλάνθρωπίας,
 ἣν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνος περιβαλλόμενος

means for its own detection.

228. 2. ἡμᾶς . . ἐγνωσμένους. The old reading ὑμᾶς would require ἐγνωκύτας (ἐγνώ [κύτας καὶ πεπε] σμένους has been conjectured), as the passive forms of this verb are never 'deponent.'

229. 8. οὗτος, i.e. τὸ τιθέναι ψήφους.

231. 21. ἄρα, ironical, 'you think, do you not?'

22. ταῦτα = the achievements, summarised in § 230.

subtle illustration he has granted that the opinion hitherto passed on us has been, that I spoke for my country and he for Philip. Otherwise, if your original belief about each of us were not of that kind, he would not try so anxiously to change your minds. What is much more, that he has no ^{implied} ^{premise} 229 right to require you to alter this decision, I will readily show, not by a play with pebbles (for an account of facts cannot be struck in figures), but by a brief recapitulation of each set of circumstances, using you, my hearers, as at once examiners and witnesses. When the Thebans would have joined Philip 230 in invading our land, my disparaged policy made them take the field with us to keep him out; when the war might have been seated in Attica, my policy caused it to be fought out seven hundred furlongs off, on the frontiers of Boeotia; when the privateers from Euboea might have harried us, my policy left Attica at peace on her seaboard throughout the war; and when Philip might have held the Hellespont by the seizure of Byzantium, my policy brought the Byzantines to join us heart and soul in the war against him. Aeschines thinks now, does 231 he not, that the computation of facts is like cyphering? What, must you put aside these services as cancelled, and not rather see that they be remembered gratefully for ever? I need not go on to add that the savagery, which is to be marked where-
 ever Philip had got any community thoroughly into his grip, it was the misfortune of others to experience, while of the courteous behaviour, which he simulated when compassing his

The method
 history is
 arithmetic

22. ἀνταλεῖν. See on § 227.

26. φιλανθρωπίας. Aeschines (see on § 227) had said, c. Ct. § 57, πάνυ προσδοκῶ ἐπιδείξιν τοῖς δικασταῖς τῆς μὲν σωτηρίας τῇ πόλει τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτίους

γεγεννημένους, καὶ τοὺς φιλανθρώπων καὶ μετρίως τοῖς τῆς πόλεως πράγμασι χρησαμένους. For Philip's treatment of Athens, see Introduction I.

ἐπλάττετο, ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες τοὺς καρποὺς κεκόμισθε. ἀλλ' ἐὼ ταῦτα.

- 232 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὀκνήσω, ὅτι ὁ τὸν ῥήτορα βουλόμενος δικαίως ἐξετάζειν καὶ μὴ συκοφαντεῖν οὐκ ἂν οἶα σὺ νῦν ἔλεγες, τοιαῦτα κατηγορεῖ, παραδείγματα 5 πλάττων καὶ ῥήματα καὶ σχήματα μιμούμενος (πάνν γὰρ παρὰ τοῦτο, οὐχ ὀρᾶς; γέγονε τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, εἰ τουτὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἀλλὰ μὴ τουτὶ διελέχθην ἐγώ, ἢ 233 δευρὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀλλὰ μὴ δευρὶ παρήνευκα), ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων ἂν ἐσκόπει, τίνας εἶχεν ἀφορμὰς ἢ 10 πόλιν καὶ τίνας δυνάμεις, ὅτ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' εἰσῆιν, καὶ τίνας συνήγαγον αὐτῇ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐπιστὰς ἐγώ, καὶ πῶς εἶχε τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων. εἴτ' εἰ μὲν ἐλάττους ἐποίησα τὰς δυνάμεις, παρ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δίκημ' ἂν ἐδείκνυνεν ὄν, εἰ δὲ πολλῶ μείζους, οὐκ ἂν ἐσυκοφάντει. ἐπειδὴ 15 δὲ σὺ τοῦτο πέφευγας, ἐγὼ ποιήσω καὶ σκοπεῖτε εἰ δικαίως χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ.
- 234 Δύναμιν μὲν τοίνυν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις τοὺς νησιώτας, οὐχ ἅπαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους· οὔτε γὰρ Χίος οὔτε Ῥόδος οὔτε Κέρκυρα μεθ' ἡμῶν ἦν χρη- 20 μάτων δὲ σύνταξιν εἰς πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα τά-

1. καλῶς ποιοῦντες is never ironical in the orators, and indeed it may be questioned whether it anywhere has the sense 'much good may it do to you!' which it is sometimes said to bear. Compare Olynthiac i. § 28. p. 17 τῶν πολλῶν ὧν καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἔχουσιν, said of wealthy patriots, c. Lept. § 110. p. 490 ὅλως δ' οἶμαι τότε δεῖν τοὺς ἐτέρων ἐπαινεῖν τρόπους καὶ ἔθνη τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐπιτιμῶντας, ὅταν ἢ δεῖξαι βέλτιον ἐκείνους πράττοντας ὑμῶν ὅτε δ' ὑμεῖς καλῶς ποιοῦντες καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κατὰ τὰλλα πάντα ἀμεινον ἐκείνων πράττετε κ.τ.λ., Aeschines, c. Ct. § 233 καὶ φατέ μὲν εὐτυχεῖς εἶναι, ὡς καὶ ἐστέ,

καλῶς ποιοῦντες. The application is always to *well-merited prosperity*. Hence the comic perversion Aristoph. Plut. 861—

ΚΑ. προσέρχεται γὰρ τις κακῶς πράττων ἀνὴρ,

εἰοικε δ' εἶναι τοῦ πονηροῦ κόμματος.

ΔΙ. νῆ Δία, καλῶς τοίνυν ποιῶν ἀπόλυται.

232. 5. παραδείγματα, § 228.

Aeschines, who prided himself on the propriety (v. supra § 129) of his language and delivery, is fond of criticising and mocking the tone, words, and action of Demosthenes. Compare c. Ct. § 72 οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸ βῆμα μέμνημαι, ὡς εἶπε, διὰ

further aims, you have deservedly reaped the fruits. But enough of this.

Proceeding, I will not hesitate to say as much as this, 232 that one who wished justly to examine and not to misrepresent an orator would not use accusations, such as you lately uttered, manufacturing illustrations, and apeing my words and attitudes—for of course the fortune of Hellas has hinged, do you not see? on this, that I expressed myself in one phrase not in another, and that I drew my hand across to the right instead of the left side. No; basing his inquiry on the facts 233 themselves, he would ask what capital and what forces our city had when I entered upon public business, and how much more I accumulated for her afterwards when I became her director, and how the circumstances of our adversaries stood. After doing this, if he found I had diminished her forces, he would show that the guilt lay on me; but, if I had largely increased them, he would not try to rob me of my due. Since you, however, have evaded this duty, I will do it; and let my hearers watch if I make my statements justly.

As auxiliaries, then, the city possessed the islanders, and 234 not all, but only the weakest of these; for neither Chios nor Rhodes nor Corcyra stood for us. She had a subsidy of money amounting to forty-five talents, and these had been

τὴν ἀηδῖαν τοῦ λέγοντος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ δνόματος) ἀπορρήξει τῆς εἰρήνης τὴν συμμαχίαν—§§ 166, 167 οὐ μέμνησθε αὐτοῦ τὰ μισθὰ καὶ ἀπίθανα ῥήματα, ἃ πῶς ποθ' ὑμεῖς ᾧ σιδήρειοι ἐκαρτερεῖτε ἀκροώμενοι; ὅτ' ἔφη παρελθὼν 'ἀμπελουργοῦσι τινες τὴν πόλιν, ἀνατετμήκασιν τινες τὰ κλήματα τοῦ δήμου, ὑποτέτμηται τὰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων, φαρμορραφούμεθα, ἐπὶ τὰ στενά τινες ὥσπερ τὰς βελόνας διείρουσι.' ταῦτα δὲ τί ἐστιν, ᾧ κίναδος; ῥήματα ἢ θαύματα; καὶ πάλιν ὅτε κύκλῳ περιδινὼν σεαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κ.τ.λ.—§ 209 περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρύων καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς κ.τ.λ. Demosthenes gave a home-thrust in reply to such criticism Fals. Leg. p.

421 οὐ λέγειν εἰσω τὴν χεῖρ' ἔχοντ', Αἰσχίνη, δεῖ· οὐ· ἀλλὰ πρεσβεύειν εἰσω τὴν χεῖρα ἔχοντα. See infra § 280. It is also curious that none of the phrases to which Aeschines takes exception are to be found in the extant speeches of Demosthenes.

6. πάνυ γάρ is ironical (cf. Aesch. c. Ct. § 100), and so in keeping with οὐχ ὀργῆς, for which cf. § 266.

7. παρά, literally, 'all along of.' Cf. Isocrates Archid. § 52 ὑπὸ πάντων ἂν ὁμολογεῖτο παρὰ τοῦτον γενέσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς, Thuc. i. 141 ἕκαστος οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀμέλειαν οἶεται βλάψειν.

233. 17. χρήσομαι τῷ λόγῳ, § 252.

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Part III

λαντα, καὶ ταυτ' ἦν προεξελεγμένα· ὀπλίτην δ',
 ἱππέα πλὴν τῶν οἰκείων οὐδένα. ὃ δὲ πάντων καὶ
 φοβερώτατον καὶ μάλισθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὗτοι
 παρσκευάκεισαν τοὺς περιχώρους πάντας ἔχθρας ἢ
 235 φιλίας ἐγγυτέρω, Μεγαρεῖς, Θηβαίους, Εὐβοέας. τὰ 5
 μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐδεὶς
 ἂν ἔχοι παρὰ ταυτ' εἰπεῖν ἄλλο οὐδέν· τὰ δὲ τοῦ
 Φιλίππου, πρὸς ὃν ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών, σκέψασθε πῶς.
 πρῶτον μὲν ἦρχε τῶν ἀκολουθούντων αὐτὸς αὐτοκράτωρ,
 ὃ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἀπάντων· εἶθ' 10
 οὗτοι τὰ ὄπλα εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αἰεὶ ἔπειτα
 χρημάτων εὐπόρει, καὶ ἔπραττεν, ἃ δόξειεν αὐτῷ, οὐ
 προλέγων ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, οὐδ' ἐν τῷ φανερῷ
 βουλευόμενος, οὐδὲ γραφὰς φεύγων παρανόμων, οὐδ'
 ὑπεύθυνος ὢν οὐδενί, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς. αὐτὸς δεσπότης, 15
 236 ἡγεμῶν, κύριος πάντων. ἐγὼ δ' ὁ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀντι-
 τεταγμένος (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἐξετάσαι δίκαιον) τίνας
 κύριος ἦν; οὐδενός· αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ δημηγορεῖν πρῶτον,
 οὗ μόνου μετεῖχον ἐγώ, ἐξ ἴσου προϋτίθεθ' ὑμεῖς τοῖς
 παρ' ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι καὶ ἐμοί, καὶ ὅσα οὗτοι περι- 20
 γένοιτο ἐμοῦ (πολλὰ δ' ἐγίγνετο ταῦτα, δι' ἣν ἕκαστον
 τύχοι πρόφασιν), ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπῆτε βε-
 237 βουλευμένοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοιούτων ἐλαττωμάτων
 ἐγὼ συμμάχους μὲν ὑμῖν ἐποίησα Εὐβοέας, Ἀχαιοὺς,
 Κορινθίους, Θηβαίους, Μεγαρέας, Λευκαδίους, Κερκυ- 25
 ραίους, ἀφ' ὧν μύριοι μὲν καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ξένοι,
 δισχιλίοι δ' ἱππεῖς ἄνευ τῶν πολιτικῶν δυνάμεων
 συνήχθησαν· χρημάτων δέ, ὅσων ἡδυνήθην ἐγώ,
 238 πλείστην συντέλειαν ἐποίησα. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ἢ τὰ

234. 2. Before ἱππέα Dind. has ἦ.

235. 14. After βουλευόμενος Dind. inserts, in brackets, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν συκο-

φαντούντων κρινόμενος, from the margin of Σ.

236. 18. πρῶτον = 'to come to the

raised before they were due ; but not a trooper, foot or horse, beyond her domestic army. Next,—and this was a matter formidable above everything else, and especially favourable to the enemy,—my opponents had made the attitude of all our neighbours more like hostility than friendship,—I refer to the Megarians, the Thebans, and the Euboeans. The means of 235 Athens I found to amount to this, and no one can add a single item more. Now I ask you to observe how the affairs of Philip, our antagonist, stood. In the first place, he held the sole and irresponsible command of his followers, and this is the greatest of all military advantages. In the next place, their weapons were never out of their hands. Yet again, he had abundant supplies of money : and he could always put in practice whatever measures might approve themselves to him, —not betraying them in decrees, not deliberating before the eyes of the world, not having to defend indictments for breach of the constitution, nor submit to a scrutiny, but, in one word, as sole lord, conductor and controller of all. But of what 236 had I, who was pitted against him—for it is right to examine this—of what had I absolute control? Of nothing. For to take at once the mere opportunity of addressing the people, which was the only privilege I shared, you offered it quite as freely to his hirelings as to me ; so, whatever motions they carried over my head—and these were many, be the pretext of each what it may—you went home having passed just so many resolutions in favour of your enemies. But neverthe- 237 less, in spite of such drawbacks, I converted into allies the Euboeans, Achaeans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megarians, Leucadians, and Corcyraeans, from whom were collected fifteen thousand mercenaries and two thousand cavalry, beside the citizen forces of those communities ; and I obtained a very large contribution of money from as many states as I could. But if 238

point at once,' cf. c. Lept. § 106. p. 489.

237. 27. ἀνευ, § 89.

28. ὅσων ἡδυνήθην. Cf. § 65.

238. 29. λέγεις. Cf. Aeschin. c. Ct.

§ 143 τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀναλωμάτων

- πρὸς Θηβαίους δίκαια, Αἰσχίνη, ἣ τὰ πρὸς Βυζαν-
τίους ἢ τὰ πρὸς Εὐβοέας, ἣ περὶ τῶν ἴσων νυνὶ δια-
λέγῃ, πρῶτον μὲν ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι καὶ πρότερον τῶν ὑπὲρ
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνων ἀγωνισαμένων τριήρων, τριακο- 5
σίων οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν, τὰς διακοσίας ἢ πόλιν παρέ-
σχετο, καὶ οὐκ ἐλαττοῦσθαι νομίζουσα οὐδὲ κρίνουσα.
τοὺς ταῦτα συμβουλευσάντας οὐδὲ ἀγανακτοῦσα ἐπὶ
τούτοις ἑώρατο (αἰσχρὸν γάρ), ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχουσα
χάριν, εἰ κοινοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς Ἑλλησι περιστάντος
αὐτῇ διπλάσια τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν 10
- 239 παρέσχετο. εἶτα κενὰς χαρίξῃ χάριτας τουτοισὶ
συκοφαντῶν ἐμέ. τί γὰρ νῦν λέγεις οἷα ἐχρῆν πράτ-
τειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τότ' ὦν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρὼν ταῦτ'
ἔγραφες, εἴ περ ἐνεδέχετο παρὰ τοὺς παρόντας και-
ρούς, ἐν οἷς οὐχ ὅσα ἡβουλόμεθα ἀλλ' ὅσα δοίῃ τὰ 15
πράγματ' ἔδει δέχεσθαι· ὁ γὰρ ἀντωνούμενος καὶ
ταχὺ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαννομένους προσδεξόμενος
καὶ χρήματα προσθήσων ὑπῆρχεν ἔτοιμος.
- 240 Ἄλλ' εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις κατηγορίας
ἔχω, τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ τότ' ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτου ἀκριβολο- 20
γούμενου ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις καὶ προσέθεντο Φιλίππῳ,
καὶ ἅμα Εὐβοίας καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Βυζαντίου κύριος
κατέστη, τί ποιεῖν ἂν ἢ τί λέγειν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἀν-
- 241 θρώπους τουτουσί; οὐχ ὥς ἐξεδόθησαν, ἀπηλάθησαν,
βουλόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν εἶναι; εἶτα τοῦ μὲν Ἑλλησ- 25

τὰ μὲν δύο μέρη ὑμῖν ἀνέθηκεν, οἷς ἦσαν ἀποτέρω οἱ κίνδυνοι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος Θηβαίους. Hence the aptness of Demosthenes' illustration from Salamis, where Athens had previously contributed in the same proportion to the defence of Hellas.

The Greek fleet at Salamis probably numbered nearer 400 than 300, though

the different accounts are by no means harmonious. Herodotus (viii. 48) reckons the total fleet at 378 (the Athenian contingent being 180). Thucydides (i. 74) at 400 (some MSS. have τριακοσίας), Aeschylus (Persae 338) at 310. Demosthenes himself, De Sym. § 29. p. 186, makes the combined fleet to consist only of 200 vessels, of which

you speak, Aeschines, either of strict justice to the Thebans, or of strict justice to the Byzantines or to the Euboeans, or talk at this time of day about equal contingents, in the first place you do not seem to know that long before this, when the famous triremes, three hundred in all, did battle for Hellas, Athens provided her two hundred,—ay, and showed no sign that she thought herself badly treated, nor was she seen bringing to trial those who gave her this advice or fretting on this account (it would have been shameful if she had), but rather full of gratitude to the gods, that, when an international danger encompassed the Hellenes, she of herself furnished twice as much assistance as the others towards the deliverance of all. Then you try to do your hearers but a poor favour in tradu- 239 cing me. For why do you now tell us what ought to have been done? Why did you not, as you were in Athens and present at our meetings, make your proposals when they were wanted, if indeed they were admissible during those hard times in which we had to accept, not all we wished, but as much as the situation would grant? For there, eagerly waiting, stood our rival in the market, ready to snap at all whom we rejected, and to pay a bounty too.

But if, after all that was gained, I am subject to accusations 240 on account of what has been done, what do you think, if, while I was adjusting the scales, the cities had gone off and closed with Philip and he had established himself as master at once of Euboea and Thebes and Byzantium,—what, I repeat, do you think these blasphemers would have done or said? Would they not have said that the states had been thrown 241 over and driven away when they wished to side with us? 'Worse than that, Philip has got the control of the Helles-

100 were Athenian. Arithmetical accuracy seems to have been denied to the classical mind.

4. ἐκείνων, § 71 note.

240. 20. τί. . τί. For the repeated interrogative Dissen compares Phil. iii. § 35. p. 120, where however the best texts do not retain the second τί, which in the present case is rendered

easier by the reiterated ἄν.

τούτου. Dind. has τούτων. The literal sense is 'arguing precisely about our respective obligations.'

241. 24. Before ἀπηλάθησαν Dind. repeats οὐχ ὥς.

25. εἶτα does not introduce, but is part of, the oratio recta.

- πόντου διὰ Βυζαντίων ἐγκρατὴς καθέστηκε, καὶ τῆς
 σιτοπομπίας τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων κύριος, πόλεμος δ'
 ὁμορος καὶ βαρὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν διὰ Θηβαίων κεκό-
 μισται, ἄπλους δ' ἡ θάλαττα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας
 ὀρμωμένων ληστῶν γέγονεν; οὐκ ἂν ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, 5
 242 καὶ πολλὰ γε πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερα; πονηρόν, ὃ ἄνδρες
 Ἀθηναῖοι, πονηρόν ὁ συκοφάντης ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν
 βάσκανον καὶ φιλαίτιον· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ φύσει κίναδος
 τάνθρωπιόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑγιὲς πεποιηκὸς
 οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον, αὐτοτραγικὸς πίθηκος, ἀρουραῖος Οἰνό- 10
 μαος, παράσημος ῥήτωρ. τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης εἰς
 ὄνησιν ἥκει πατρίδι; νῦν ἡμῖν λέγεις περὶ τῶν παρε-
 243 ληλυθότων; ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἰατρὸς ἀσθενούσι μὲν
 τοῖς κάμνουσιν εἰσιὼν μὴ λέγοι μηδὲ δεικνύοι δι' ὧν
 ἀποφεύξονται τὴν νόσον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τελευτήσεί τις 15
 αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτῷ φέροιτο, ἀκολουθῶν ἐπὶ
 τὸ μνήμα διεξιὼν 'εἰ τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπος
 οὐτοσί, οὐκ ἂν ἀπέθανεν.' ἐμβρόντητε, εἴτα νῦν
 λέγεις;
 244 Οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ τὴν ἦτταν, εἰ ταύτῃ γαυριᾶς ἐφ'
 ἧ στένειν σε ὃ κατάρατε προσῆκεν, ἐν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ'
 ἐμοὶ γεγονυῖαν εὐρήσετε τῇ πόλει. οὕτωςι δὲ λογί-
 ζεσθε. οὐδαμοῦ πώποθ', ὅποι πρεσβευτῆς ἐπέμφθην
 ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐγώ, ἡττηθεὶς ἀπῆλθον τῶν παρὰ Φιλίππου
 πρέσβεων, οὐκ ἐκ Θετταλίας, οὐκ ἐξ Ἀμβρακίας, οὐκ 25

1. καθέστηκε, sc. Φίλιππος, which is found on the margin of Σ.

2. τῶν . . ληστῶν. See § 71, both for the sense, and also for the order of the words.

242. 7. πανταχόθεν, i. e. whatever course you adopt you cannot silence the συκοφάντης.

10. πίθηκος. Cf. Aristot. Poet. c. 26 ὡς λίαν γὰρ ὑπερβάλλοντα [i. e. carry-

ing imitation to an extreme in tragedy] πίθηκον ὁ Μυνίσκος τὸν Καλλιπίδην ἐκαλεῖ.

Οἰνόμαος, § 180 note.

11. τί γὰρ ἡ σὴ δεινότης κ.τ.λ., § 277.

12. Before πατρίδι Dind. has τῇ.

243. 13. ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ implies an apodosis even when none is expressed. Here the implied apodosis is very

pont by means of the Byzantines, and is master of the Greek corn route, and a heavy border war has been drawn into Attica by means of the Thebans, and the sea has become unnavigable on account of the privateers operating from Euboea'—would they not have said this? Yes, and a great deal else in addition to this. Men of Athens, vicious, vicious 242 and evil-eyed and litigious as the traducer always is and under all conditions, this mannikin is vermin born, a creature that has done nothing wholesome, nothing liberal from first to last, an ape of the true tragedy-type, a country-fair Oenomaus, an orator in counterfeit. For when has your rhetorical expertness been pressed into the service of your country? Do you talk to us now about bygones? Much as if a physician, 243 on visiting his patients while they are sick, should not state and prescribe the means by which they may escape from their malady, but, when one of them dies and the solemnities are being performed in his funeral procession, should walk behind to the tomb, and explain in detail, 'if this man had done so and so he would not have died.' Lunatic, after all that is past, do you dare to speak to-day?

In the same way too, with regard to the defeat, if you 244 glory, accursed creature, in that over which you ought to moan, my hearers will find that it has fallen on Athens in connection with nothing that was in my department. I ask you to reason in the following way. Wherever you sent me as your representative, I never to this day came away defeated, in any particular, by Philip's ambassadors—not from Thessaly, not from Ambracia, not from the Illyrians, not

clear: *the people would answer him, as I answer you now—ἐμβρόντητε, εἶτα νῦν λέγεις*; Cp. §§ 194, 214.

Aeschines anticipates the present passage (for such anticipations see Intr. II) in his own speech, c. Ct. § 226 *ἔπειτα ἐπερωτᾷ με, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, μέλλει, τίς ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτος ἰατρὸς ὅστις τῷ νοσοῦντι μεταξὺ μὲν ἀσθενοῦντι μὴδὲν συμβουλεύει, τελευτήσαντος δὲ*

αὐτοῦ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰ ἔνατα διεξίει πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἃ ἐπιτηδεύσας ὑγίης ἂν ἐγένετο, and replies that Demosthenes prevented or frustrated all good advice. The death meant is of course the death of Hellenic freedom.

17. ἄνθρωπος. Dind. reads ἄνθρωπος.

244. 20. ἦτταν, Chaeronea.

23. οὐδαμοῦ κ.τ.λ. Cf. Aeschines, c. Ct. § 256.

ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν, οὐ παρὰ τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλέων, οὐκ ἐκ
 Βυζαντίου, οὐκ ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμῶθεν, οὐ τὰ τελευταῖα
 ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν οἷς κρατηθεῖεν οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτοῦ
 245 τῷ λόγῳ, ταῦτα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπιὼν κατεστρέφετο. ταῦτ'
 οὖν ἀπαιτεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχύνει τὸν αὐτὸν 5
 εἰς τε μαλακίαν σκώπτων καὶ τῆς Φιλίππου δυνά-
 μεως ἀξιῶν ἔνα ὄντα κρεῖττω γενέσθαι; καὶ ταῦτα
 τοῖς λόγοις; τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου κύριος ἦν ἐγώ; οὐ γὰρ
 τῆς γε ἐκάστου ψυχῆς, οὐδὲ τῆς τύχης τῶν παρατα-
 ξαμένων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας, ἧς ἔμ' ἀπαιτεῖς εὐθύνας· 10
 246 οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὧν γ' ἂν ὁ ῥήτωρ ὑπεύ-
 θυνος εἴη, πᾶσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνετε· οὐ παραιτοῦμαι.
 τίνα οὖν ἐστι ταῦτα; ἰδεῖν τὰ πράγματα ἀρχόμενα
 καὶ προαισθῆσθαι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα
 πέπρακταί μοι. καὶ ἔτι τὰς ἐκασταχοῦ βραδυτήτας 15
 ὅκνους ἀγνοίας φιλονεικίας, ἃ πολιτικὰ ταῖς πόλεσι
 πρόσσεστιν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἀμαρτήματα, ταῦθ'
 ὥς εἰς ἐλάχιστα συστεῖλαι, καὶ τούναντίον εἰς ὁμόνοιαν
 καὶ φιλίαν καὶ τοῦ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὁρμὴν προτρέψαι.
 καὶ ταῦτά μοι πάντα πεποίηται, καὶ οὐδεὶς μὴ ποθ' 20
 247 εὖρη κατ' ἐμὲ οὐδὲν ἐλλειφθέν. εἰ τοίνυν τις ἔροιτο
 ὄντιν οὖν, τίσι τὰ πλείστα Φίλιππος ὧν κατέπραξε
 διωκῆσατο, πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ τῷ
 διδόναι καὶ διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.
 οὐκοῦν τῶν μὲν δυνάμεων οὔτε κύριος οὔθ' ἡγεμὼν ἦν 25
 ἐγώ, ὥστε οὐδ' ὁ λόγος τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντων
 πρὸς ἐμέ. καὶ μὴν τῷ διαφθαρῆναι χρήμασιν ἢ μὴ
 κεκράτηκα Φιλίππου· ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ὠνούμενος νενίκηκε

1. βασιλέων, i.e. Teres and Cersobleptes.

3. ἐν οἷς, *quibus in locis*, Dissen: but see on ἐν οἷς § 19.

245. 6. μαλακίαν. Aeschines (c.

Ct. § 175) says that Demosthenes freely confessed to cowardice.

10. τῆς στρατηγίας . . εὐθύνας. Aesch. c. Ct. § 146.

246. 12. πᾶσαν, § 7.

from the Thracian kings, not from Byzantium, nor from any other place whatsoever, nor, last of all, from Thebes: but whatever points his ambassadors lost in diplomacy, these he retrieved by armed invasion. Do you then require an account of military operations from me? Are you not ashamed when you ridicule a man for his cowardice, and yet require that the same man should, single-handed, win a victory over Philip's power? ay, and that I should achieve it by words? For what else could I command? Not the lives, at any rate, of each soldier, nor the fortune of those who took the field with us, nor the performance of the general's duties—though of the last you require an account from me, so crass are you. Of course you are free, my hearers, to examine me in any way on points where an orator may be responsible. I do not deprecate that. What, then, are the duties of a public orator? To watch a situation in its growth and to make his timely observations known in time to the rest of his countrymen. These duties, then, have been fulfilled by me. Still further, the ever active influences of tardiness, hesitancy, ignorance, and animosity—errors which are inherent in all free states, as states, and unavoidable,—he should confine to their most limited spheres; and, on the other hand, should impel his countrymen to unanimity and friendship and to a forwardness in the performance of duty. All this also has been done by me, and no one will ever find anything left undone in my province. Yet, further, ask whomsoever you please by what means Philip carried out most of his successful measures, and you will find all to answer that it was by his army and by his bribery and corruption of leading men. Of our military forces, then, I was neither lord nor leader; so that the consideration of what was done in the field does not affect me: And, what is more, in the battleground of corruption against incorruptibility I have gained a victory over Philip; for, just as the bidder has vanquished the

λαμβάνετε. Dind. has λάμβανε.

19. προτρέψαι, sc. τὰς πόλεις.

21. Dind. has τό before κατ' ἐμέ.

247. 26. οὐδ', i. e. as I had not the power I have not the responsibility.

ὁ λόγος . . πρὸς ἐμέ, § 44.

κατὰ ταῦτα, i. e. κατὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν.

28. ὁ ὠνούμενος, § 239.

τὸν λαβόντα, ἐὰν πρίηται, οὕτως ὁ μὴ λαβὼν καὶ δια-
φθαρεὶς νενίκηκε τὸν ὠνούμενον. ὥστε ἀήττητος ἡ
πόλις τὸ κατ' ἐμέ.

- 248 Ἄ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγὼ παρεσχόμην εἰς τὸ δικαίως
τοιαῦτα γράφειν τοῦτον περὶ ἐμοῦ, πρὸς πολλοῖς ἐτέ- 5
ροις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις ἐστίν, ἃ δ' οἱ
πάντες ὑμεῖς, ταῦτ' ἤδη λέξω. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην
εὐθύς ὁ δῆμος, εἰδὼς καὶ ἑωρακὼς πάντα ὅσα ἔπρατ-
τον ἐγώ, ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ φοβεροῖς ἐμβε- 10
βηκῶς, ἡνίκ' οὐδ' ἀγνωμονῆσαί τι θαυμαστὸν ἦν τοὺς 10
πολλοὺς πρὸς ἐμέ, πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς
πόλεως τὰς ἐμὰς γνώμας ἐχειροτόνει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα
τῆς φυλακῆς ἔνεκα ἐπράττετο, ἡ διάταξις τῶν φυλά-
κων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τεῖχη χρήματα, διὰ τῶν
ἐμῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐγίγνετο· ἔπειθ' αἰρούμενος σιτώνην 15
249 ἐκ πάντων ἐμὲ ἐχειροτόνησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ μετὰ
ταῦτα συστάντων οἷς ἦν ἐπιμελὲς κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῖν,
καὶ γραφὰς εὐθύνας εἰσαγγελίας, πάντα ταῦτ' ἐπα-
γόντων μοι, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν τό γε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ δι' ὧν
μάλισθ' ὑπελάμβανον ἀγνοήσεσθαι (ἴστε γὰρ δῆπου 20
καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους κατὰ τὴν
ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἐκρινόμην ἐγώ, καὶ οὐτ' ἀπόνοια
Σωσικλέους οὔτε συκοφαντία Φιλοκράτους οὔτε Διών-
δου καὶ Μελάντου μανία οὐτ' ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον ἦν
τούτοις κατ' ἐμοῦ), ἐν τοίνυν τούτοις πᾶσι μάλιστα 25

1. Before διαφθαρεὶς Dind. has μηδέ instead of καί. The meaning would be the same with either; as the conjunctive καί is often used where in English we should employ a disjunctive particle.

2. ἀήττητος, i. e. I was not ἡττων τῶν χρημάτων.

248. 5. For τοῦτον Dind. has του-

τονί, which would point a little more clearly to Ctesiphon.

9. ἐν .. φοβεροῖς. Referring to this time Demosthenes says, c. Aristog. § 11. p. 803 τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τῶν ἑδαφῶν εἰς κίνδυνον μέγιστον κατακεκλειμένης.

10. ἦν = ἦν ἂν, cf. §§ 196, 306.

11. πρῶτον μὲν, § 1 note.

receiver of the price, if he make his purchase, in the same way a man who has rejected the price and resisted corruption has vanquished the bidder. Thus, looking only at me, the state has suffered no defeat.

The grounds, therefore, which I furnished to enable my client to make these propositions concerning me with justice, are, in addition to many others, these or similar to these; but the other justifications which you, the nation, furnished, I will now proceed to state. Immediately after the battle, when the people had the evidence of their own eyes for all I did, though they stood in the very heart of danger and terror, at an hour when it would not have been wonderful that the multitude should have been a little inconsiderate to me, in the first place they voted my resolutions for the salvation of the city, and everything which was done in our self-defence, the disposition of the guards, the digging of the trenches, the expenditure on the walls, took place in consequence of my decrees; and yet again, when they were appointing a special corn-commissioner, they elected me out of the whole number. And when, after this, those joined issue with me who were concerned to do me a mischief, and when they launched against me indictments, scrutinies, impeachments, and all these weapons, not in their own person, at any rate at first, but in the persons of those behind whom they conceived they would most easily be concealed—for I imagine you know, or remember, that during the earlier periods I was put on trial daily and all day long, and that neither the desperation of a Sosicles, nor the malignity of a Philocrates, nor the madness of a Diondas or a Melantus, nor anything else, was left untried by them against me—in all these dangers, chiefly by the kind-

15. σιτώνην, i. e. one of the extraordinary officers appointed, in times of scarcity (σιτοδείαι), to take special measures for the supply of corn.

249. 17. συστάντων. It is hard to decide whether this means 'combining with one another,' or 'joining issue with me' (cf. § 18).

18. πάντα ταῦτα. Asyndeton is com-

mon with such 'rounding phrases,' both in Greek and Latin: cf. § 219 note.

23. Σωσικλέους . . Μελάντου are both unknown.

Φιλοκράτους of Eleusis, not the Philocrates of § 17, etc., who was of Hagnus.

Διώνδου, § 222.

not too convincing

2

inference

μὲν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, δεύτερον δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀθηναίους ἐσωζόμεν. δικαίως τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἀληθές ἐστι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμωμοκότων καὶ γνόν-

250 των τὰ εὖορκα δικαστῶν. οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν οἷς εἰσηγ-
γελλόμεν, ὅτ' ἀπεψηφίζεσθί μου καὶ τὸ μέρος τῶν 5
ψηφῶν τοῖς διώκουσιν οὐ μετεδίδοτε, τότε' ἐψηφίζεσθε
τὰ ἄριστα με πράττειν· ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς γραφὰς ἀπέ-
φευγον, ἔννομα καὶ γράφειν καὶ λέγειν ἀπεδεικνύμεν·
ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς εὐθύναις ἐπεσημαίνεσθε, δικαίως καὶ
ἀδωροδοκίῃς πάντα πεπραχθαί μοι προσωμολογεῖτε. 10
τούτων οὖν οὕτως ἐχόντων τί προσήκον ἢ τί δίκαιον
ἦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένοις θέσθαι τὸν Κτησιφῶντα
ὄνομα, οὐχ ὃ τὸν δῆμον ἑώρα τιθέμενον, οὐχ ὃ τοὺς
ὁμωμοκότας δικαστάς, οὐχ ὃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρὰ πᾶσι
βεβαιούσαν; 15

251 Naί, φησίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλόν, τὸ μηδε-
μίαν γραφὴν φεύγειν. καὶ νῆ Δί' εὐδαιμόν γε. ἀλλὰ
τί μᾶλλον ὃ πολλάκις μὲν φυγὼν μηδεπώποτε δ' ἐξε-
λεγχθεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐν ἐγκλήματι γίγνεται ἂν διὰ τοῦτο
δικαίως; καίτοι πρὸς γε τοῦτον, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 20
καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου καλὸν εἰπεῖν ἔστι μοι· οὐδεμίαν
γὰρ πώποτ' ἐγράψατό με οὐδ' ἐδίωξε γραφὴν, ὥστε
ὑπὸ σοῦ γε ὁμολόγημαι μηδὲν εἶναι τοῦ Κεφάλου
χείρων πολίτης.

252 Πανταχόθεν μὲν τοίνυν ἂν τις ἴδοι τὴν ἀγνωμο- 25
σύνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασκανίαν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' ἀφ'

2. τοῦτο, i. e. τὸ ἐμὲ σώζεσθαι.

3. ἀληθές seems to be used in the rare sense of 'demanded by the truth,' 'correct,' 'equitable,' much as *verum* sometimes = *aequum* in the Latin dramatists.

250. 10. προσωμολογεῖτε. The simple verb is used (as in Aesch. c.

Ct. 59) of the λογισταί conceding the accuracy of accounts; hence the force of the preposition is 'you further conceded.' Cf. προσδέεται § 113.

11. For προσήκον Dind. has προσήκεν.

251. 16. Naί 'is fundamentally connected with a negative idea.. in the Orators, at any rate, it is never met

ness of the gods, but, under Providence, by your kindness and that of the rest of the Athenians, I was ever delivered. And rightly so: for that was both correct and to the honour of the jurors who had sworn to obey the laws and had brought in conscientious verdicts. Thus, where I was under impeach-²⁵⁰ment, when you voted my acquittal and did not grant my prosecutors their minimum of the ballots, you then and there voted that I acted for the best; in the same way, where I was absolved on the indictments, it was demonstrated that my proposals and speeches were constitutional; and where at the audits you continued to sign and seal my accounts, you also conceded that everything had been done by me with justice and integrity. All this being so, what name was it proper or just that Ctesiphon should apply to my conduct? Was it not the name which he saw applied by the people? Was it not the name which he saw applied by the jurors on their oath? Was it not the name which he saw confirmed by the sense of truth in the hearts of all?

Ay, he tells us, but the experience of Cephalus was honour-²⁵¹able, namely, that he was defendant to no indictment. Yes, and Heaven knows that it was fortunate too. But why in justice should one who has been acquitted many times, and never yet convicted of misdemeanour, lie under reproach any the more on that account? And, indeed, as far as Aeschines is concerned, I also, men of Athens, may boast of the honourable experience of Cephalus; for he never till this day laid, or pleaded, any indictment against me, so that on his admission at least I have been no whit a worse citizen than Cephalus.

Thus, while one may remark, in every act of his, his un-²⁵²gentleness and malignity, yet they are most marked in the

with in a strictly affirmative signification.' (Shilleto, De Fals. Leg. App. C.)

21. τὸ τοῦ Κεφάλου κ.τ.λ. Cf. Aesch. c. Ct. § 194. For Cephalus, v. § 219.

τὸ .. καλόν. καλόν is predicative in the first instance, but in the second is used substantively. It would be

conceivably possible to take it substantively the first time also, the construction being like *καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο* § 123, but for *εὐδαιμόν γε*.

252. Aeschines, throughout his speech, presses the point that Demosthenes was unlucky himself and the cause of ill-luck in others: compare c. Ct. § 114 *συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ, ὅτου ἂν*

*repose
immediately*

καὶ Ν

ὦν περὶ τῆς τύχης διελέχθη. ἐγὼ δ' ὅλως μὲν, ὅστις
 ἄνθρωπος ὦν ἀνθρώπῳ τύχην προφέρει, ἀνόητον ἡγοῦ-
 μαι· ἦν γὰρ ὁ βέλτιστα πράττειν νομίζων καὶ ἀρίστην
 ἔχειν οἰόμενος οὐκ οἶδεν, εἰ μενεῖ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς
 ἐσπέρας, πῶς χρὴ περὶ ταύτης λέγειν ἢ πῶς ὀνειδί- 5
 ζειν ἑτέρῳ; ἐπειδὴ δ' οὗτος πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ
 περὶ τούτων ὑπερηφάνως χρηται τῷ λόγῳ, σκέψασθ'
 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ θεωρήσατε ὅσῳ καὶ ἀληθέ-
 στερον καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερον ἐγὼ περὶ τῆς τύχης τούτου
 253 διαλεχθήσομαι. ἐγὼ τὴν τῆς πόλεως τύχην ἀγαθὴν 10
 ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁρῶ καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Δωδωναῖον
 ὑμῖν μαντευόμενον, τὴν μέντοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων,
 ἢ νῦν ἐπέχει, χαλεπὴν καὶ δεινὴν· τίς γὰρ Ἑλλήνων
 ἢ τίς βαρβάρων οὐ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι
 254 πεπείραται; τὸ μὲν τοίνυν προελέσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα 15
 καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰηθέντων Ἑλλήνων, εἰ πρόοιντο ἡμᾶς, ἐν
 εὐδαιμονίᾳ διάξειν, αὐτῶν ἄμεινον πράττειν τῆς ἀγα-
 θῆς τύχης τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τίθημι· τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι
 καὶ μὴ πάνθ' ὥς ἡβουλόμεθ' ἡμῖν συμβῆναι τῆς τῶν
 ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τύχης τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς μέρος 20
 255 μετειληφέναι νομίζω τὴν πόλιν. τὴν δ' ἰδίαν τύχην
 τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὴν ἐνὸς ἡμῶν ἐκάστου ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις
 ἐξετάζειν δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζω. ἐγὼ μὲν οὕτως περὶ
 τῆς τύχης ἀξιῶ, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, ὥς ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ,
 νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην τὴν ἐμὴν 25

προσάφηται ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου ἢ δυνάστου
 ἢ πόλεως δημοκρατουμένης, τούτων ἐκά-
 στος ἀνιάτοις κακοῖς περιβάλλειν, and
 again § 158.

7. ὑπερηφάνως . . τῷ λόγῳ, § 233.

253. 10. ἀγαθὴν. See the verses
 of Solon quoted in Fals. Leg. pp. 421,
 422.

12. After ὑμῖν (Dind. ἡμῖν) the vul-
 gate had καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλων τὸν Πύθειον,

in which reading the καὶ before τὸν
 Δία means 'both.'

254. 17. Before αὐτῶν Dind. has
 τούτων; but, for the emphatic position
 of αὐτῶν at the beginning of the clause,
 compare § 13 ad fin.

18. τὸ δὲ προσκροῦσαι is not strictly
 parallel in construction to the previous
 τὸ προελέσθαι, which is the direct sub-
 ject to the infinitive εἶναι, as § 58 τὸ . .

language he employed about fortune. For my part, as a general rule, I consider any human being who casts fortune into the teeth of a fellow man, to be a fool—for as a thing of which the best satisfied man, the man who thinks he possesses it in its best form, cannot be sure that it will abide till evening without change, how dare we speak of it or with it reproach another? Yet, since Aeschines speaks in tones of arrogance on this, too, as well as many other subjects, I ask you, men of Athens, to watch and judge how much more correctly and more naturally than my opponent I shall treat the question of fortune. I consider the fortune of Athens to be good; and I **253** see that Zeus himself of Dodona proclaims this to you by oracle. The fortune, however, of mankind as a whole, which now prevails, I consider to be hard and terrible. For what Hellene or what non-Hellene has not experienced many evils in the present? Thus, on the one hand, I reckon as part **254** of the good fortune of Athens the fact that she deliberately chose the path of honour, and is now better off than the very Hellenes who fancied that by sacrificing us they would be secure in happiness: on the other hand, in so far as she met with obstacles and everything did not fall out as we wished, I consider she has but shared the common fortune of the world in the proportion allotted to us. My private fortune, however, **255** and that of each one of us I think it right to examine in the light of our private histories. For my part I hold to these tenets concerning fortune—rightly and justly, as I myself think, and I trust you do too. He, on the contrary, makes

κελεύσαι is to *κοινωνεῖν* (being there only reiterated by *καὶ τοῦτο*). But *τὸ προσκροῦσαι* here hangs more loosely on the construction: 'as far as concerns our disasters, I think Athens has shared the general ill-luck to the allotted extent.' The preposition in *μετεκληφέναι* forbids the tempting rendering: 'her disasters I think Athens has received as her fair share of the world's ill-luck.'

20. τὸ ἐπιβάλλον .. μέρος, § 272.

255. 24. ἀξιώ is used in the philosophic sense, 'I postulate.' ἀξιώ = *I think*, is never used without a complement (ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀξιώ c. Lept. § 12. p. 460 is not an instance), and hence in one MS. we find *συνδοκεῖν* after *τύχης*, no doubt intended as the supplement supposed to be wanting here. *ἐμαντῷ δοκῶ*, § 53 note.

25. νομίζω δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν, sc. *δοκεῖν*.

τῆς κοινῆς τῆς πόλεως κυριωτέραν¹ εἰναί φησι, τὴν μικρὰν καὶ φαύλην τῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ μεγάλης. καὶ πῶς ἔνι τοῦτο γενέσθαι;

256 Καὶ μὴν εἴ γε τὴν ἐμὴν τύχην πάντως ἐξετάζειν Αἰσχίνη προαιρεῖ, πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ σκόπει, καὶ εὖρης 5 τὴν ἐμὴν βελτίω τῆς σῆς, παῦσαι λοιδορούμενος αὐτῇ. σκόπει τοίνυν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς. καὶ μου πρὸς Δίδος μηδεμίαν ψυχρότητα καταγνῶ μηδεῖς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐτ' εἴ τις πενίαν προπηλακίζει, νοῦν ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι, οὐτ' εἴ τις ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφεῖς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεται· 10 ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς τουτουὶ τοῦ χαλεποῦ βλασφημίας καὶ συκοφαντίας εἰς τοιούτους λόγους ἐμπίπτειν ἀναγκάζομαι, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐνόντων ὥς ἂν δύνωμαι μετριώτατα χρήσομαι.

257 Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν ὑπῆρξεν, Αἰσχίνη, παιδὶ τὰ προσ- 15 ἦκοντα διδασκαλεῖα, καὶ ἔχειν ὅσα χρὴ τὸν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιήσοντα δι' ἔνδειαν, ἐξελθόντι δὲ ἐκ παίδων ἀκόλουθα τούτοις πράττειν, χορηγεῖν, τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας μήτε ἰδίας μήτε δημοσίας ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς 20 φίλοις χρήσιμον εἶναι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ προσελθεῖν ἔδοξέ μοι, τοιαῦτα πολιτεύματα ἐλέσθαι ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν πολλακίς ἐστεφανώσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμᾶς, ὥς οὐ καλὰ γ' ἦν ἂ προειλόμην, ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν. 25

258 ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη συμβεβίωκα τύχῃ, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν

256. 4. πάντως, if taken with ἐξετάζειν, would = 'in every way.' But it is better taken with προαιρεῖ, 'absolutely resolved.'

8. ψυχρότητα might mean either 'coldness of heart,' or 'silliness,' the latter being probably the sense intended here; cf. νοῦν ἔχειν.

257. On the following sections see Life.

15. After παιδί Dind. has μὲν ὄντι φοιτᾶν εἰς, and these words seem necessary to preserve the symmetry of the construction.

18. χορηγεῖν. The duties of the χορηγός were to collect, maintain, and

my personal fortune to be more dominant than the general fortune of the state, the small and mean than the good and grand. But how could this arrive?

And now, Aeschines, since you are absolutely resolved to 256 examine my fortune, look at it in comparison with your own; and if you find that mine is superior to yours cease to inveigh against it. Look at our fortunes, therefore, from the outset. And, in the name of Heaven, let no one set me down as frivolous. In my own heart I credit with sense neither those who make a butt of poverty nor those who, because they have been bred in affluence, plume themselves on that; but I am driven by the defamations and calumnies of my unfeeling opponent to drop into discussions on such topics. These, however, I will treat as modestly as I may under present possibilities.

In my case then, Aeschines, I had the advantage, as a child, 257 of suitable schools and of the possession of as much means as one must have who is to do no degrading action through destitution. When I passed from childhood it was my privilege to act in accordance with my early life, to provide the expense of choruses and of triremes, to contribute the war tax, and to be backward in no honourable competition either social or national, but of service both to my country and my friends. When I decided to apply myself to public affairs, I was enabled to choose such courses of policy that I have frequently been crowned both by my own state and by many of the other Hellenes; and that not even you, my enemies, attempt to say that the principles I adopted were not at any rate honourable. Such then is the fortune which has attended me through my 258

pay a chorus, to provide a trainer, and to furnish all the costumes. The cost of doing this well might amount to nearly a talent. The reward was social reputation, and a tripod—for the latter the χορηγός in many cases had to pay himself. Demosthenes

volunteered the service for his tribe, Pandionis. His general habit of lavish expenditure is attacked by Aeschines, c. Ct. § 173.

18. τριηραρχεῖν. See § 99, and note on § 102.

ἔχων ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς παραλείπω, φυλαττόμενος
 τὸ λυπησαί τινα ἐν οἷς σεμνύνομαι. σύ δ' ὁ σεμνυνό-
 μενος ἀνὴρ καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς ἄλλους σκόπει πρὸς
 ταύτην ποῖα τινὶ κέχρησαι τύχη, δι' ἣν παῖς μὲν ὦν
 μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδείας ἐτράφη, ἅμα τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς 5
 τῷ διδασκαλείῳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων καὶ τὰ
 βάθρα σπογγίζων καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου
 259 τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρου παιδὸς. ἔχων, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος
 τῇ μητρὶ τελοῦσθαι τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκες καὶ τᾶλλα
 συνεσκευωροῦ, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατη- 10
 ρίζων καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους καὶ ἀπομάττων
 τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ κα-
 θαρμοῦ κελεύων λέγειν 'ἔφυγον κακόν, εὖρον ἄμεινον,'
 ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικούτ' ὀλολύξαι σεμνυνό-
 260 μενος (καὶ ἔγωγε νομίζω· μὴ γὰρ οἶεσθ' αὐτὸν φθέγ- 15
 γεσθαι μὲν οὕτω μέγα, ὀλολύζειν δ' οὐχ ὑπέρλαμπρον),
 ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν
 ὁδῶν, τοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους τῷ μαράθῳ καὶ τῇ λεύκῃ,
 τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς
 αἰωρῶν, καὶ βοῶν εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὕψι 20
 ἄττης ἄττης ὕψι, ἔξαρχος καὶ προηγεμὼν καὶ κιττο-
 φόρος καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν γραδίων
 προσαγορευόμενος, μισθὸν λαμβάνων τούτων ἐνθρυπτα
 καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ὥς

258. 7. παιδαγωγεῖον may mean, as the context would rather suggest, the 'school-room.' The παιδαγωγός, however, was, at Athens, merely the slave who attended boys to school. Hence παιδαγωγεῖον would most literally signify the room in which these attendants waited for their young masters.

259. Of the mysteries into which Aeschines' mother initiated her novices little is known beyond that which can

be gathered from this passage. That they had much to do with Dionysus is probable: κρατηρίζων would seem to mean 'passing round the mixing-bowl,' and fawn-skins (νεβρίζων) were worn at the Dionysiac orgies. That they were of Phrygian origin is suggested by εὐοῖ, and by σαβοῖ, which is said to be a vocative of the name of a Phrygian deity, otherwise called Σαβάσιος, and also by ἄττης (of which ὕψι is said to be a synonym) if the

life; and, although I might find myself able to say much more about it, I omit to do so, taking care not to offend any one by my boasts. But I call upon you, the boaster, who void your rheum upon the rest of the world, to enquire, in comparison with my fortune, what kind of fortune you have enjoyed. A fortune thanks to which, as a child, you were bred amid plentiful lack of means, sitting in company with your father as an attendant at the school, grinding the ink and sponging the benches and sweeping the schoolroom, performing the office of a menial, not of a freeborn child! A259 fortune thanks to which, when you became a man, you read the books to your mother during her initiations and helped her in the rest of her mummeries! By night you clothed the novices in fawn-skins, and drenched them from the mixing-bowl, and purified them and rubbed them down with clay and bran, and, as you raised them up, after the purification, bade them say, 'I have escaped the evil, I have found the better way,' boasting that no one hitherto raised the sacrificial scream so splendidly! And I well believe it: for let not my hearers260 imagine that he can now utter such magnificent tones without having been brilliantly able to raise the sacrificial scream. Then, in the day time, you busied yourself with leading your well-graced crew, crowned with fennel and white poplar, through the streets, squeezing the puff-adders and elevating them above your head, and shouting, 'Evoe saboe,' and dancing to the cry, 'Hyes Attēs Attēs Hyes,' saluted, by the old crones, as first-musician, master-of-ceremonies, ivy-wearer, fan-bearer, and similar titles, receiving, as guerdon for these services, sops and twists and fresh flat-cakes, on the strength of

word has any connection with Attis. But that they belonged to a disreputable superstition favoured by the lowest orders is pretty clear from the tone of the whole passage.

10. κρατηρίζων. Compare Fals. Leg. §§ 221-2. p. 403 τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰς βίβλους ἀναγιγνώσκοντά σε τῇ μητρὶ τελοῦσθαι, καὶ παῖδα ὄντα ἐν θιάσοις καὶ μεθύουσιν ἀνθρώποις καλινδοῦμενον κ.τ.λ. κρατηρίζων and νεβρίζων are only found here. Probably they are transitive: you 'punch-bowled' and

'fawn-skinned' your novices.

260. 15. μὴ γὰρ κ.τ.λ., v. § 13 note. φθέγγεσθαι. For Aeschines' voice cf. §§ 280, 291, 313.

21. κιττοφόρος. Dind. (from a correction in Σ) has κιστοφόρος = 'bearer of the casket' containing the sacred emblems.

24. νεήλατα, as described by Harpocration, are a sort of plum-cake, but the word would more naturally signify 'fresh rolls.'

- ἀληθῶς αὐτὸν εὐδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην ;
 261 ἐπειδὴ δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ἐνεγράφησ' ὅπως δὴ ποτε, ἐὼ
 γὰρ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ γ' ἐνεγράφησ', εὐθέως τὸ κάλλιστον
 ἐξελέξω τῶν ἔργων, γραμματεῦν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς
 ἀρχιδίοις. ὥς δ' ἀπηλλάγης ποτὲ καὶ τούτου, πάνθ' 5
 ἃ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορεῖς αὐτὸς ποιήσας, οὐ κατή-
 σχυνας μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν τῶν προὔπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ
 262 ταῦτα βίῳ, ἀλλὰ μισθώσας αὐτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις
 ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμύλῳ καὶ Σω-
 κράτει, ἔτριταγωνίστης, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ ἐλάας 10
 συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χωρίων,
 πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων, οὓς ὑμεῖς
 περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγωνίζεσθε· ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ
 ἀκήρυκτος ὑμῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος, ὑφ' ὧν
 πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφὼς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν 15
 263 τοιούτων κινδύνων ὥς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. ἀλλὰ γὰρ
 παρεῖς ὧν τὴν πενίαν αἰτιάσαιτ' ἂν τις, πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ
 τοῦ τρόπου σου βαδιοῦμαι κατηγορήματα. τοιαύτην
 γὰρ εἴλου πολιτείαν, ἐπειδὴ ποτε καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπῆλθέ
 σοι ποιῆσαι, δι' ἣν εὐτυχούσης μὲν τῆς πατρίδος λαγῶ 20
 βίον ἔξης δεδιὼς καὶ τρέμων καὶ ἀεὶ πληγῆσθαι
 προσδοκῶν ἐφ' οἷς σαυτῷ συνήδεις ἀδικοῦντι, ἐν οἷς δ'
 ἡτύχησαν οἱ ἄλλοι, θρασὺς ὧν ὑφ' ἀπάντων ὦψαι.
 264 καίτοι ὅστις χιλίων πολιτῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐθάρρησε,
 τί οὗτος παθεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ζώντων δίκαιός ἐστιν ; πολλὰ 25
 τοῖνυν ἕτερ' εἰπεῖν ἔχων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλείψω· οὐ

261. 2. ὅπως δὴ ποτε, § 21.

ἐπειδὴ δ'. Dind. has ἐπειδὴ δ' οὖν.

4. γραμματεῦν. See on § 127.

262. 8. αὐτόν = σαυτόν, which is read by Dind.

11. ὀπωρώνης is a very rare word. It probably means one who bought up

garden-produce, which he sold at a profit. Aeschines sold the fruit flung at him, and 'pocketed the affront.' The vigour with which an Athenian audience expressed its opinion of a bad actor (and especially of Aeschines) is pictured Fals. Leg. § 389. p. 449 ἐξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετε

which who could not heartily congratulate himself and his fortune? And when at length you were enrolled among the 261 members of a deme, by means best known to yourself—for I waive that—when, however, you were enrolled, you immediately picked out the most honourable of occupations, that of scribe and underling to the petty magistrates. Then, when, some time or other, you emerged from this state also, having yourself done everything of which you accuse others, heaven knows that you disgraced none of your precedents by your subsequent life; but, having hired yourself out to those actors 262 who were surnamed ‘Groaners,’ Simylus and Socrates, you played third to them, amassing figs and grapes and olives, like a fruiterer supplied from other people’s gardens, getting more from these presents than from your dramatic contests, in which you contended for your lives. For there was a war, broken neither by truce nor parley, between you and the spectators, from whom you received many wounds, and so naturally scoff at those who are inexperienced in such perils as cowards. However, having dismissed those matters for which one might 263 hold poverty responsible, I will proceed at once to my complaints against your character. You chose such a public life, when at length it occurred to you to engage in this career also, that, as its consequence, when, on the one hand, your country enjoyed good fortune, you lived the life of a hare, fearful and trembling and always expecting to be struck for the crimes of which you knew yourself guilty; while, on the other hand, where the rest of the nation were unfortunate, you have shown a bold face to the world. And yet, when a man was em- 264 boldened because a thousand of his fellow-countrymen had been slain, what is he fit to suffer at the hands of the survivors? Although, therefore, I am able to say much more

ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ μόνον οὐ κατέ-
λεύετε.

12. After ἀπὸ τούτων Dind. has τραύματα. But Σ omits the substantive, which probably crept into the other MSS. from the next sentence. Its insertion is only justified by elaborate explanations, which, among

other things, require that ὑμεῖς should not refer to Aeschines, Symilus, and Socrates, and that is impossible.

ἀγώνων. There is a suggestion of two meanings of ἀγών, (1) contest, (2) stage-play.

16. σκώπτεις, v. on § 245.

263. 22. ἐν οἷς δ', § 323.

γὰρ ὅς' ἂν δείξαιμι προσόντ' αἰσχρὰ τούτῳ καὶ ὀνειδίη,
πάντ' οἶμαι δεῖν εὐχερῶς λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα μηδὲν
αἰσχρόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἐμοί.

265 Ἐξέτασον τοίνυν παρ' ἄλληλα τὰ σοὶ κάμοι βε-
βιωμένα, πράως, μὴ πικρῶς, Αἰσχίνῃ· εἴτ' ἐρώτησον 5
τουτουσὶ τὴν ποτέρου τύχην ἂν ἔλοιθ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν.
ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων. ἐτέλεις, ἐγὼ δ'
ἐτελούμην. ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἡκκλησίαζον. ἐτρι-
ταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν. ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύ-
ριττον. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολίτευσαι πάντα, ἐγὼ 10
266 δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἐγὼ τᾶλλα, ἀλλὰ νυνὶ τήμερον
ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφανωθῆναι δοκιμάζομαι, τὸ δὲ
μηδ' ὅτιοῦν ἀδικεῖν ἀνωμολόγημαι, σοὶ δὲ συκοφάντη
μὲν εἶναι δοκεῖν ὑπάρχει, κινδυνεύεις δὲ εἶτε δεῖ σ'
ἔτι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, εἴτ' ἤδη πεπαῦσθαι μὴ μεταλαβόντα 15
τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων. ἀγαθῇ γε, οὐχ ὀρᾶς;
τύχῃ συμβεβιωκὼς τῆς ἐμῆς κατηγορεῖς.

267 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς τῶν λειτουργιῶν μαρτυρίας, ὧν
λελειτούργηκα, ὑμῖν ἀναγνῶ· παρ' ἃς παρανάγνωθι
καὶ σύ μοι τὰς ῥήσεις ἃς ἐλυμαίνου, 20

καὶ ἤκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότου πύλας,
κακαγγελεῖν μὲν ἴσθι μὴ θέλοντά με,

καὶ κακὸν κακῶς σε μάλιστα μὲν οἱ θεοί, ἔπειτα οὗτοι

1. ἂν δείξαιμι. For this modified future cf. § 190 note.

265. 8. ἐτελούμην means, of course, initiated in the *Eleusinian mysteries* (in which almost every young Athenian was initiated), not in the Sabazian mysteries of § 259.

Dind. here inserts ἐχέρευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορήγουν. Respectable citizens were disinclined to allow their young sons to become χορευταί.

Throughout this passage we must read between the lines, in order to understand its full meaning to Athenian ears. Demosthenes does not say he was a pupil where Aeschines was teacher; he was initiated in mysteries where Aeschines officiated, etc.: if he had said this, the passage would be pure ψυχρότης. In reality, and as his hearers would understand him, he meant: I was respectably bred, and

about him, I will pass it over: for I do not think that I must lightly state all the disgraces and reproaches which I could demonstrate to attach to my opponent, but only as much as it is no disgrace to myself to mention.

Examine, therefore, side by side, the incidents of your life **265** and mine, Aeschines, calmly, ~~not cruelly~~; and then ask our hearers whose fortune each of them would choose. You taught letters, and I went to school. You initiated, and I was initiated. You were a clerk, and I was a member of the assembly. You were third actor, and I was spectator. You broke down, and I hissed. You worked in all your public life on behalf of our enemies, and I on behalf of our country. I waive the rest; but to-day, at this moment, while I am on my trial **266** about the receipt of a crown, and have been allowed to be guilty of no crime whatever, you start with the reputation of a traducer, and what has to be decided about you is, whether you are to continue this conduct, or to be checked at once by having failed to receive the fifth part of the votes. Do you not see, then, it is after you have been attended in life by a very good fortune yourself, that you accuse mine?

Come, now, let me read to my hearers the depositions also **267** concerning the public benevolences which I have performed. In contrast to these do you in your turn recite for me the speeches in the plays which you used to mangle,

‘I have come from the chamber of the dead and the gates of darkness.’

Or,

‘Know that I do not bear evil tidings willingly.’

And by an evil doom, for evil done, may you perish at the hands, if it please them, of the gods—at any rate at the hands

led a respectable life; you were a pauper and driven to discreditable occupations. You were drudge at a low dominie's; I went to a high class school: you helped to encourage degraded superstitions; I was admitted to the great Eleusinian mysteries: I saved my tribe the expense, and won them the honour, of the production of a tragedy; you were a *χορευτής*, a class often disreputable, etc.—which of us has been the

luckier?

266. 16. *πέμπτον* is omitted by Dind. conjecturally.

οὐχ ὀρᾶς; ironical, as § 232.

17. After *ἐμῆς* Dind. has *ὡς φαύλης*.

267. 21. *ἦκω κ.τ.λ.* is the first line of the Hecuba, spoken by the ghost (§ 180) of Polydorus. *λεπών* is to be understood from the following line, which would be familiar to every Athenian.

πάντες ἀπολέσειαν, πονηρὸν ὄντα καὶ πολίτην καὶ
τριταγωνιστήν.

Λέγε τὰς μαρτυρίας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΙ.

- 268 Ἐν μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τριούτους· ἐν 5
δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις εἰ μὴ πάντες ἴστε ὅτι κοινὸς καὶ φιλάν-
θρωπος καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκῶν, σιωπῶ καὶ οὐδὲν
ἂν εἴποιμι οὐδὲ παρασχοίμην περὶ τούτων οὐδεμίαν
μαρτυρίαν, οὐτ' εἴ τινας ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλυσάμην, —
οὐτ' εἴ τισι θυγατέρας συνεξέδωκα, οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων 10
- 269 οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ οὕτω πως ὑπέιληφα. ἐγὼ νομίζω τὸν
μὲν εὖ παθόντα δεῖν μεμνήσθαι πάντα τὸν χρόνον, τὸν
δὲ ποιήσαντα εὐθὺς ἐπιλελῆσθαι, εἰ δεῖ τὸν μὲν χρη-
στοῦ τὸν δὲ μὴ μικροψύχου ποιεῖν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου.
τὸ δὲ τὰς ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας ὑπομιμνήσκειν καὶ λέγειν 15
μικροῦ δεῖν ὁμοίον ἐστι τῷ ὀνειδίζειν. οὐ δὴ ποιήσω
τοιούτον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ προαχθήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ποθ'
ὑπείλημμαι περὶ τούτων, ἀρκεῖ μοι.
- 270 Βούλομαι δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς
ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχεις, 20
Αἰσχίνη, τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἥλιον εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων
ὅστις ἀθῶος τῆς Φιλίππου πρότερον καὶ νῦν τῆς
'Αλεξάνδρου δυναστείας γέγονεν, ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ
τῶν βαρβάρων, ἔστω, συγχωρῶ σοὶ τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε
τύχην εἴτε δυστυχίαν ὀνομάζειν βούλει πάντων αἰτίαν 25
- 271 γεγενῆσθαι. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδεπώποτ' ἰδόντων ἐμὲ
μηδὲ φωνὴν ἀκηκοότων ἐμοῦ πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ
πεπόνθασιν, μὴ μόνον κατ' ἀνδρα ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις
ὅλαι καὶ ἔθνη, πόσῳ δικαιότερον καὶ ἀληθέστερον τὴν
ἀπάντων, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων τύχην κοινὴν καὶ 30

270. 24. ἔστω = 'have your way,'
§ 277.

τὴν ἐμὴν εἴτε κ.τ.λ. § 20.
271. 30. τύχην is placed before

of all my hearers, because you are villainous both as a citizen and as an actor of third parts!

Read the depositions.

DEPOSITIONS.

In my relations to the state, then, such has been my character. In my private history, if you do not all know that I have been liberal and benevolent and helpful to the needy, I hold my peace, and I would say nothing nor produce any testimony on these subjects, neither to show that I ransomed certain prisoners from the enemy, ^{nor that} ~~or helped certain men to~~ ^{sneaky} portion their daughters, nor will I mention any other such act. For I have formed an opinion somewhat of this sort. I consider that the man who has received favours ought to remember them for ever, but the man who has conferred them ought to forget them at once, if the former must act as an honourable the latter as a magnanimous man; and that jogging the memory or talking about private benefactions is as much as to cast a reproach. I therefore will do no such thing, nor will I be enticed to do so: I rest contented with the opinion I have won in these respects.

But I wish, now that I have escaped from personalities, to say a little more to you on public topics. If you are able, Aeschines, to name any person, of all the men that live beneath this sun, who has been untouched by the predominance formerly Philip's and now Alexander's, either among Hellenes or non-Hellenes, well and good: I concede to you that my fortune or misfortune, whichever you may choose to term it, has been to blame for everything. If, however, many even of those who never yet saw me or even heard a sound from my lips have suffered many grievous injuries, not individuals only but also whole states and nationalities, how much juster and more correct is it to assume that what is the common fortune of all, apparently, of mankind, or rather that a certain hard

κοινήν in accordance with the same idiom which is noted § 71, κοινήν

being accompanied by the complement πάντων ὡς εἰκεν ἀνθρώπων.

φοράν τινα πραγμάτων χαλεπήν καὶ οὐχ οἶαν ἔδει
 272 τούτων αἰτίαν ἡγεῖσθαι; σὺ τοίνυν ταυτ' ἀφείς ἐμέ
 τὸν παρὰ τουτοισὶ πεπολιτευμένον αἰτιά, καὶ ταυτ'
 εἰδὼς ὅτι, καὶ εἰ μὴ τὸ ὅλον, μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει τῆς
 βλασφημίας ἅπασι, καὶ μάλιστα σοί. εἰ μὲν γὰρ 5
 ἐγὼ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν αὐτοκράτωρ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἐβουλευόμην, ἦν ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις ῥήτορσιν ὑμῖν ἐμέ
 273 αἰτιάσθαι· εἰ δὲ παρήτε μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
 ἀπάσαις, ἀεὶ δ' ἐν κοινῷ τὸ συμφέρον ἢ πόλις προϋ-
 τίθει σκοπεῖν, πᾶσι δὲ ταυτ' ἐδόκει τότε ἄριστ' εἶναι, 10
 καὶ μάλιστα σοί (οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ γ' ἐμοὶ παρεχώρεις
 ἐλπίδων καὶ ζήλου καὶ τιμῶν, ἀ πάντα προσῆν τοῖς
 τότε πραττομένοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἡττώ-
 μενος δηλονότι καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν βέλτιον),
 πῶς οὐκ ἀδικεῖς καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖς τούτοις νῦν ἐγκαλῶν, 15
 274 ὧν τότε οὐκ εἶχες λέγειν βελτίω; παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔγωγ' ὁρῶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διωρισμένα
 καὶ τεταγμένα πῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα. ἀδικεῖ τις ἐκῶν;
 ὀργὴν καὶ τιμωρίαν κατὰ τούτου. ἐξήμαρτέ τις ἄκων;
 συγγνώμην ἀντὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τούτῳ, οὐτ' ἀδικῶν 20
 τις οὐτ' ἐξαμαρτάνων, εἰς τὰ πᾶσι δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν
 ἑαυτὸν δοὺς οὐ κατώρθωσε μεθ' ἀπάντων; οὐκ ὀνει-
 δίζειν οὐδὲ λοιδορεῖσθαι τοιούτῳ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ συνά-
 275 χθεσθαι. φανήσεται ταῦτα πάντα οὕτως οὐ μόνον
 τοῖς νομίμοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ φύσις αὐτῇ τοῖς ἀγράφοις 25
 νόμοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις ἤθεσι διώρικεν. Αἰσχίνης

1. φοράν might possibly mean *im-petus* (Dissen), 'a tide of events,' somewhat like *σκηπτός* § 194; but more probably is used here in the same sense as § 61, 'a crop, or harvest, of troubles.'

272. 4. μέρος γ' ἐπιβάλλει, § 254.

6. After αὐτοκράτωρ Dind. has ὧν. 274. 16. παρὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῖς ἄλλοις. The antithesis is resumed, a little irregularly, in Αἰσχίνης τοίνυν.

18. ἀδικεῖ κ.τ.λ. Dissen refers to Aristot. Rhet. i. c. 13, where ἀδικήματα, ἀμαρτήματα, and ἀτυχήματα are distinguished.

disputans

and unlooked-for plague of troubles, has caused these miseries? Wilfully blind, then, to this, you lay the guilt on me, the 272 mere public servant of my countrymen now present, and that although you know that a part at any rate, if not the whole of the libel, falls on all, and especially on you. Had I indeed formed my plans on my own authority and with plenary powers, you, the other public men, might have accused me; *false case* but since, as a fact, you were present at all the assemblies, 273 and the state always propounded in public the examination of her interests, and since my measures at the time seemed best to all, and, above all, to you—for it was not on grounds of benevolence, at any rate, that you retired in my favour from your hopes both of distinction and of honours, all of which attached to the measures then taken by me, but obviously because you were worsted by the truth and because you were able to propose nothing better—are you not unjust, and do you not act shamefully, in now complaining of measures which you could not better before? In the hearts, then, of the rest 274 of mankind I see that the following maxims are, as it were, defined and ordained. Does a man do wrong voluntarily? I see anger and punishment ordained against him. Has he erred involuntarily? I see indulgence, instead of punishment, assigned to him. Has a man, guilty neither of crime nor blunder, after devoting himself to the measures which seemed to all expedient, failed, in company with all his countrymen, to succeed? It is not just to reproach or inveigh against such a man, but to share his vexation. Not only will all 275 this be found so defined in our institutions, but nature herself also has drawn the same distinctions in her unwritten laws, *Aristotle* that is to say, in human dispositions. Aeschines, then, has so

19. ὀργήν κ.τ.λ. Sc. τεταγμένην ὀρῶ.

22. οὐ must be taken closely with κατάρθωσε.

275. 25. ἀγράφοις νόμοις. Compare Soph. Antig. 454 ἀγραπτα νόμιμα. So the MSS. here have ἀγράφοις νομίμοις, and the best of them have τοῖς

νόμοις just before. The transposition is due to Reiske, but seems worse than capricious. For νομίμοις cf. Aristoc. § 70.

26. ἤθεσι. See on § 114. Dind. prefers ἔθεσι: but if we read (as probably we should) οὐ μόνον τοῖς νόμοις .. ἀγράφοις νομίμοις, then ἤθεσι will give the better contrast to νόμοις.

τοίνυν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβέβληκεν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους
ὠμότητι καὶ συκοφαντίᾳ, ὥστε καὶ ὦν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀτυ-
χημάτων ἐμέμνητο, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ.

- 276 Καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς καὶ
μετ' εὐνοίας πάντας εἰρηκῶς τοὺς λόγους, φυλάττειν 5
ἐμὲ καὶ τηρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ παρακρούσομαι
μηδ' ἐξαπατήσω, δεινὸν καὶ γόητα καὶ σοφιστὴν καὶ
τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνομάζων, ὡς ἂν πρότερός τις εἶπη τὰ
προσόνθ' ἑαυτῷ περὶ ἄλλου, καὶ δὴ ταῦθ'. οὕτως
ἔχοντα, καὶ οὐκέτι τοὺς ἀκούοντας σκεψομένους τίς 10
ποτ' αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ταῦτα λέγων. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ὅτι
γιγνώσκετε τοῦτον ἅπαντες, καὶ πολὺ τούτῳ μᾶλλον
277 ἢ ἐμοὶ νομίζετε ταῦτα προσεῖναι. κάκείνῳ εὖ οἶδ',
ὅτι τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα — ἔστω γάρ. καίτοι ἔγωγ'
ὀρῶ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ 15
πλείστον κυρίου· ὡς γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀποδέξησθε καὶ
πρὸς ἕκαστον ἔχητ' εὐνοίας, οὕτως ὁ λέγων ἔδοξε φρο-
νεῖν. εἰ δ' οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ παρ' ἐμοί τις ἐμπειρία
τοιαύτη, ταύτην μὲν εὐρήσετε πάντες ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς
ἐξεταζομένην ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ καὶ οὐδαμοῦ, καθ' ὑμῶν 20
οὐδ' ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ τούτου τούναντίον οὐ μόνον τῷ λέγειν
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι τοῦτον
ἢ προσέκρουσέ που, κατὰ τούτων. οὐ γὰρ αὐτῇ δι-
278 καίως, οὐδ' ἐφ' ἃ συμφέρει τῇ πόλει, χρήται. οὔτε
γὰρ τὴν ὀργὴν οὔτε τὴν ἐχθρὰν οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν τῶν 25
τοιούτων τὸν καλὸν κάγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ
τῶν κοινῶν εἰσεληλυθότας δικαστὰς ἀξιοῦν αὐτῷ

276. 4. Aeschines constantly warns his audience against Demosthenes' rhetorical skill, as c. Ct. § 16 and § 207 (where he calls him γόητα καὶ βαλαντιστόμον).

8. ὥς with accusative absolute, cf. § 122 note.

9. καὶ δὴ is constantly used with the perfect passive especially in supposition. An instance of the same use with the present (as here) is found in Aristoph. Vesp. 1225, where Bdelycleon says, 'You must suppose me to be Cleon,' καὶ δὴ γὰρ εἰμ' ἐγὼ Κλέων.

far overshot all mankind in savagery and sycophancy that he accuses me even of things which he himself characterized as reverses of fortune.

In addition to everything else, as though he himself had delivered all his speeches with simplicity and loyalty, he bade you be on your guard against me and watch that I do not throw you off the scent or delude you, calling me rhetorician and juggler and fallacious reasoner and the like—as though, should a man take the start and state the charges which apply to himself about another, we must suppose that these are actually true, and as though his hearers will not go on to enquire who the speaker is himself. Now I know that you all pass an opinion on my opponent, and that you consider these charges to attach far more to him than to me. And I am perfectly well aware of another thing, namely, that my rhetorical skill—for I will let him call it so. And yet I observe that it is the audience which for the most part regulates the power of public speakers; for each speaker gets a reputation for sense only in the measure in which you may welcome him and feel good will to him. Be that as it may, if there resides any acquired skill of this sort in me also, you will all find that mine has been uniformly exhibited in public questions on your behalf, and on no occasion to your injury or for my private ends; while that of my opponent, on the contrary, has been employed in speaking, not only on behalf of your enemies, but also, if any one has offended him in anything or has anywhere come into collision with him, to the injury of such persons. For he does not use his skill justly nor to further what is expedient for the state. The honourable citizen ought not to expect jurors, who have taken their places in court for national ends, to give effect to his private resentment or hatred or any other such thing, nor should he appear

Aristotle

277. 14. ἔστω (cf. § 270) = I will admit the term (δεινός) for argument's sake.

16. ὥς . . οὕτως limitative, cf. § 2 note. Compare for the sense Fals. Leg. § 392. p. 450 αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλαι δυνάμεις ἐπεικῶς εἰσὶν αὐτάρκεις, ἡ δὲ τοῦ λέγειν, ἂν τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν ἀκουόντων ἀντι-

στῇ, διακόπτεται.

22. εἴ τις ἐλύπησέ τι, § 307.

εἴ τις . . κατὰ τούτων. Cf. § 99 κὰν ὅτιοῦν τις . . τούτων . . αὐτοῦς.

278. 24. οὕτε γὰρ κ.τ.λ. An ellipse is here to be supplied. 'Yet he ought to have done so, for, etc.' Cf. § 13 οὐ γὰρ note.

- βεβαιούν, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τούτων εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσιέναι, ἀλλὰ
 μάλιστα μὲν μὴ ἔχειν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ φύσει, εἰ δ' ἄρ'
 ἀνάγκη, πρῶως καὶ μετρίως διακείμεν' ἔχειν. ἐν τίσιν
 οὖν σφοδρὸν εἶναι τὸν πολιτευόμενον καὶ τὸν ῥήτορα
 δεῖ; ἐν οἷς τῶν ὅλων τι κινδυνεύεται τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἐν 5
 οἷς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἐν τούτοις·
 279 ταῦτα γὰρ γενναίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου. μηδενὸς
 δὲ ἀδικήματος πώποτε δημοσίῳ, προσθήσω δὲ μὴδ'
 ἰδίου, δίκην ἀξιώσαντα λαβεῖν παρ' ἐμοῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ
 τῆς πόλεως μήθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, στεφάνου καὶ ἐπαίνου 10
 κατηγορίαν ἤκειν συνεσκευασμένον, καὶ τοσουτουσί
 λόγους ἀνηλωκέναι ἰδίας ἔχθρας καὶ φθόνου καὶ μικρο-
 ψυχίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον, οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ
 τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ αὐτὸν ἀγῶνας ἔασαντα νῦν ἐπὶ τόνδ'
 280 ἤκειν καὶ πᾶσαν ἔχει κακίαν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖς ἐκ 15
 τούτων, Αἰσχίνῃ, λόγων ἐπίδειξιν τινα καὶ φωνασκίας
 βουλούμενος ποιήσασθαι τοῦτον προελέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα,
 οὐκ ἀδικήματος οὐδενὸς λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἔστι δ' οὐχ
 ὁ λόγος τοῦ ῥήτορος Αἰσχίνῃ τίμιον, οὐδ' ὁ τόνος τῆς
 φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτ' ἀπροαιρεῖσθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ 20
 τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς μισεῖν καὶ φιλεῖν οὔσπερ ἂν ἡ πατρίς.
 281 ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχων τὴν ψυχὴν, οὗτος ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ πάντ'
 ἐρεῖ· ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις προορᾶται τινα κίνδυνον
 ἑαυτῇ, τούτους θεραπεύων οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁρμῇ
 τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὔκουν οὐδὲ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὴν αὐτὴν 25
 ἔχει προσδοκίαν. ἀλλ', ὁρᾶς; ἐγὼ ταῦτα γὰρ συμ-
 φέρονθ' εἰλόμην τουτοισί, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐξαίρετον οὐδ'
 282 ἴδιον πεποιήμαι. ἂρ' οὖν οὐδὲ σύ; καὶ πῶς; ὃς εὐ-

5. τῶν ὅλων, § 28.

280. 16. λόγων ἐπίδειξιν, § 226.

φωνασκίας. Cf. § 291, and Fals. Leg. §§ 388, 389, 390. p. 449, where Demosthenes says a herald may be

chosen for his voice, but a minister must be chosen for his patriotism.

19. τόνος. Compare Aeschin. c. Ct. § 209 περὶ δὲ τῶν δακρύων καὶ τοῦ τόνου τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ὑμᾶς ἐπερωτᾷ 'ποι

before you for these purposes; but, best of all, he ought not to have these feelings in his disposition, or, if as a matter of fact they are inevitable, he ought to have them gently and moderately regulated. In what cases then ought the statesman and orator to be vehement? In cases where any of the main interests of the state are imperilled or where the people are at issue with their adversaries; for those are the cases which call for the generous and good citizen. But to have thought fit 279 to get satisfaction from me for no national and, I will add, no personal misdemeanour ever yet committed, neither for the benefit of the state nor for his own benefit, and to have come prepared with an accusation laid against the grant of a crown and a vote of thanks, and to have expended so many words as you have listened to, is an indication of private hatred and jealousy and little-mindedness, but of nothing good. And then, also, after avoiding the proper contests with me in my own person, now to have come forward to attack my client, is an act containing an epitome of wickedness. Indeed, by 280 these acts you seem to me, Aeschines, to have chosen this trial with a wish to make a sort of exhibition of rhetoric and voice-cultivation, not to secure the punishment of any crime. But it is not the verbal fluency of the orator, Aeschines, nor the stretch of his voice, that is valuable, but that he should choose the same ends as the bulk of his countrymen, and should hate and love the same persons as his country. For 281 the man who has his soul thus ordered will say everything with loyal intentions; but the man who courts those persons from whom the city anticipates danger to herself, does not ride at the same anchor with the multitude, and consequently has not similar expectations of safety. But, mark you, I have; for I adopted the same interests as my hearers, and have done no isolated or individual act. Can you say you have not, either? Nay, how can this be true of you, who immediately 282

φύγω; κ.τ.λ.

21. οὐσπερ ἄν, §§ 197, 291.

281. 24. ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, sc. ἀγκύρας.

ῥμεί. Compare Aeschin. c. Ct.

§ 209 ἃ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ βεβούλευσαι, ἅπαντες ὁρώμεν, ἐκλιπῶν μὲν

τὸ ἄστυ οὐκ οἰκέϊς, ὡς δοκεῖς, ἐν Πειραιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐξορμεῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐφόδια δὲ πεπόρισαι τῇ σαυτοῦ ἀνανδρίᾳ τὸ βασιλικὸν χρυσίον καὶ τὰ δημόσια δωροδοκῆματα.

26. ἐγώ, sc. ἔχω.

real day

θέως μετὰ τὴν μάχην πρεσβευτῆς ἐπορεύου πρὸς
 Φίλιππον, ὃς ἦν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις συμφορῶν
 αἴτιος τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ ταυτ' ἀρνούμενος πάντα τὸν
 ἔμπροσθε χρόνον ταύτην τὴν χρεῖαν, ὥς πάντες ἴσα-
 σιν. καίτοι τίς ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐξαπατῶν; οὐχ ὁ μὴ 5
 λέγων ἂ φρονεῖ; τῷ δ' ὁ κῆρυξ καταρᾶται δικαίως;
 οὐ τῷ τοιούτῳ; τί δὲ μείζον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀδίκημα
 κατ' ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος ἢ εἰ μὴ ταυτὰ φρονεῖ καὶ λέγει;
 283 σὺ τοίνυν οὗτος εὐρέθης. εἴτα σὺ φθέγγῃ καὶ βλέ-
 πειν εἰς τὰ τούτων πρόσωπα τολμᾷς; πότερ' οὐχ ἡγεῖ 10
 γιγνώσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅστις εἶ; ἢ τοσοῦτον ὕπνον καὶ
 λήθην ἅπαντας ἔχειν, ὥστ' οὐ μεμνήσθαι τοὺς λόγους
 οὓς ἔδημηγόρεις ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, καταρῶμενος καὶ διο-
 μνύμενος μηδὲν εἶναι σοὶ καὶ Φιλίππῳ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ'
 ἐμὲ τὴν αἰτίαν σοι ταύτην ἐπάγειν τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ' 15
 284 ἔχθρας, οὐκ οὔσαν ἀληθῆ; ὥς δ' ἀπηγγέλθη τάχισθ'
 ἡ μάχη, οὐδὲν τούτων φροντίσας εὐθέως ὠμολόγεις καὶ
 προσεποιοῦ φιλίαν καὶ ξενίαν εἶναί σοι πρὸς αὐτόν,
 τῇ μισθαρνίᾳ ταῦτα μετατιθέμενος τὰ ὀνόματα· ἐκ
 ποίας γὰρ ἴσης ἢ δικαίας προφάσεως Αἰσχίνῃ τῷ 20
 Γλαυκοθέας τῆς τυμπανιστρίας ξένος ἢ φίλος ἢ γνώ-
 ριμος ἦν Φίλιππος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὀρώ, ἀλλ' ἐμισθώθης
 ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ τούτωνι συμφέροντα διαφθείρειν. ἀλλ'
 ὅμως οὕτω φανερώς αὐτὸς εἰλημμένος προδότης καὶ
 κατὰ σαυτοῦ μηνυτῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβᾶσι γεγωνὼς ἐμοὶ 25
 λοιδορεῖ καὶ ὀνειδίζει ταῦτα, ὧν πάντας μᾶλλον αἰ-
 τίους εὐρήσεις.

285 Πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἡ πόλις, Αἰσχίνῃ,

282. 6. καταρᾶται (sc. καθ' ἐκά-
 στην ἐκκλησίαν, which is found in
 some MSS.), cf. § 130.

9. οὗτος (cf. § 173) = τοιοῦτος, which
 some MSS. read here.

283. 12. ὥστ' οὐ μεμνήσθαι. See
 Shilleto, Fals. Leg. Appendix B, where
 he shows that ὥστε takes οὐ with the
 infinitive only (1) where the negative
 belongs to a single word, (2) in oratio

after the battle travelled as ambassador to Philip, the cause of the calamities of those times to our state, and that although, during all the previous period, you refused the place of ambassador, as everybody knows? Here let me ask who it is that deludes the state? Is it not the man who does not say what he feels? And whom does the herald rightly execrate? Is it not the man of that character? And what greater crime could anyone allege against an orator than that his sentiments and his words are not identical? You, therefore, were found **283** to bear that character. After what is past, do you make yourself heard, and do you dare to look on the faces of your countrymen? Can it be that you fancy they do not recognise what kind of man you are, or imagine that so deep a sleep and oblivion possesses all, that they do not remember the words which you uttered in the assembly during the war, imprecating yourself and declaring on oath that there were no dealings between you and Philip, and that I levelled this charge against you on account of my private hostility, the charge not being true? But, as soon as the tidings of the battle came, **284** recking nothing of these former statements, you at once admitted, or rather pretended, that terms of friendship and guest-friendship existed between you and him, by these titles glossing your hireling service. For on what equitable or righteous pretence was Philip guest-friend, or friend, or even acquaintance, of Aeschines, the son of Glaucothea the tambourine player? For my part I see none: the truth is, you had been hired to ruin the interests of these my countrymen. Yet, nevertheless, although you yourself have been so manifestly detected as a traitor, and, lured by the course of events, have turned evidence against yourself, you dare to rail against me, and taunt me with crimes of which you will find anyone else more guilty than I am.

Our state, Aeschines, deliberately adopted, and successfully **285**

obliqua, (3) after verbs of *thinking*, *hearing*—as here. The passage, § 120, comes under none of these heads, and therefore the infinitive would be impossible there.

13. πολέμῳ. Dissen retains δῆμῳ.

284. 20. ποίας, § 76.

21. τυμπανιστρίας. The *tympanum* would be used in the Phrygian mysteries of § 259.

284. 26. πάντας, § 5.

καὶ προεἶλετο καὶ κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ, ὧν οὐκ ἡμνη-
 μόνησεν. σημεῖον δέ· χειροτονῶν γὰρ ὁ δῆμος τὸν
 ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ συμβάντα
 οὐ σέ ἐχειροτόνησε προβληθέντα, καίπερ εὐφωνον
 ὄντα, οὐδὲ Δημάδην, ἄρτι πεποιηκότα τὴν εἰρήνην, 5
 οὐδ' Ἡγήμονα, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὑμῶν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐμέ.
 καὶ παρελθόντος σοῦ καὶ Πυθοκλέους ὡμῶς καὶ ἀναι-
 δῶς, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, καὶ κατηγορούντων ἐμοῦ ταῦτα
 ἃ καὶ σὺ νυνί, καὶ λοιδορουμένων, ἔτ' ἄμεινον ἐχειρο-
 286 τόνησεν ἐμέ. τὸ δ' αἴτιον οὐκ ἄγνοεῖς μέν, ὅμως δὲ 10
 φράσω σοι κἀγώ. ἀμφοτέρ' ἤδεσαν αὐτοί, τὴν τ' ἐμὴν
 εὖνοϊαν καὶ προθυμίαν, μεθ' ἧς τὰ πράγματ' ἔπραττον,
 καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδικίαν· ἃ γὰρ εὐθενούντων τῶν
 πραγμάτων ἡρνεῖσθε διομνύμενοι, ταῦτ' ἐν οἷς ἔπταισεν
 ἡ πόλις ὡμολογήσατε. τοὺς οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀτυ- 15
 χήμασιν ὧν ἐφρόνουν λαβόντας ἄδειαν ἐχθροὺς μὲν
 πάλαι, φανεροὺς δὲ τόθ' ἡγήσαντο αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι.
 287 εἴτα καὶ προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς
 τετελευτηκόσι καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν κοσμήσοντα μήθ'
 ὁμωρόφιον μήθ' ὁμόσπονδον γεγεννημένον εἶναι τοῖς πρὸς 20
 ἐκείνους παραταξαμένοις, μηδ' ἐκεῖ μὲν κωμάζειν καὶ
 παιωνίζειν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραῖς μετὰ τῶν
 αὐτοχείρων τοῦ φόνου, δεῦρο δ' ἐλθόντα τιμᾶσθαι, μηδὲ
 τῇ φωνῇ δακρύειν ὑποκρινομένους τὴν ἐκείνων τύχην,
 ἀλλὰ τῇ ψυχῇ συναλγεῖν — τοῦτο δ' ἐώρων παρ' 25
 ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παρ' ἐμοί, παρὰ δ' ὑμῖν οὐ—διὰ ταῦτ' ἐμέ

285. 1. κατώρθωσε δι' ἐμοῦ. But § 311 ἐπηνώρθωται διὰ σέ.

3. παρ' αὐτά, §§ 9, 13. Just possibly, though improbably, this might mean, 'those who died in direct consequence of the events.'

9. ἄμεινον is generally interpreted 'all the more.' But instances of ἄμει-

νον = μάλλον are wanting; and μάλλον ἐχειροτόνησεν, in any case, would be rather unintelligible here. The sense most likely is 'with all the better grace.'

286. 11. αὐτοί. Dind. has οὔτοι.

287. 20. ὁμόσπονδον. Speaking about Aeschines' conduct after the

carried out by my agency many honourable and many great measures, and did not forget them. Look at one proof. When, just after the event, the people were electing an orator to speak over the grave of the dead, you were nominated, but they did not elect you, in spite of your great voice, nor Demades, though he had recently concluded the peace, nor Hegemon, nor anyone else of your school, but me. And when you and Pythocles came forward in a savage and shameless fashion, as Zeus and the gods know, and accused me in the same terms as you used again to-day, and grew scurrilous against me, they held up their hands all the more manfully for me. You know the reason well enough: still I will help to make **286** it plain to you. They had their own knowledge of both facts, of my loyalty and zeal in administering ^{their} your affairs, and of the iniquity of your cabal: for what you denied when our road was smooth, that you admitted where the city stumbled. They therefore considered that those who had only picked up courage to express their opinions in the shadow of our national misfortunes were old enemies then newly unmasked. Beyond this, because they also conceived that it was fitting **287** that an orator who was to speak at the grave of the dead, and laud their worth, should neither have shared the same roof nor the same libations with those who had taken the field against them, nor revel and triumph abroad over the misfortunes of the Hellenes in company with the actual authors of the bloodshed, yet on returning home be entrusted with a distinguished office, nor sob dramatically over the sad lot of the slain, but that he should sympathise in his soul—and this sympathy they saw in themselves and in me, but not in any of you—for

destruction of the Phocians, Demosthenes, Fals. Leg. § 141. p. 380, says οὗτος εἰς τὰ πινίκια τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ πολέμου, ἃ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος ἔθνον, εἰσιᾶτο ἔλθων καὶ σπονδῶν μετείχε καὶ εὐχῶν, ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν συμμάχων τῶν ὑμετέρων τείχεσι καὶ χώρᾳ καὶ ὕπλοις ἀπολωλόσιν εὐχετο ἐκείνος, καὶ συνεστεφανοῦτο καὶ συνεπαιώνισε

Φιλίππῳ καὶ φιλοτησίας (friendly cups) προῦπινεν.

21. ἐκεῖ = in a certain quarter, i.e. at Philip's court, cf. § 323 ἐκεῖσε.

24. ὑποκρινομένους. Dind. has ὑποκρινόμενον.

25. τοῦτο . . οὐ is parenthetical. Hence the period generally placed after οὐ must be removed.

288 ἔχειροτόνησαν καὶ οὐχ ὑμᾶς. καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὕτως, οἱ δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων πατέρες καὶ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τόθ' αἵρεθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς ἄλλως πως, ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περιδαιπνον ὡς παρ' οἰκειοτάτῳ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τᾶλλ' εἶωθε 5 γίνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἐποίησαν παρ' ἐμοί. εἰκότως· γένει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἐκάστῳ μᾶλλον οἰκεῖος ἦν ἐμοῦ, κοινῇ δὲ πᾶσιν οὐδεὶς ἐγγυτέρῳ· ᾧ γὰρ ἐκείνους σωθῆναι καὶ κατορθῶσαι μάλιστα διέφερεν, οὗτος καὶ παθόντων ἂ μὴ ποτ' ὠφελον τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων λύπης 10 πλείστον μετεῖχεν.

289 Λέγε δ' αὐτῷ τουτὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα, ὃ δημοσίᾳ προεῖλετο ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπιγράψαι, ἵν' εἰδῆς Αἰσχίνῃ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ σαυτὸν ἀγνώμονα καὶ συκοφάντην ὄντα καὶ μιάρων. Λέγε. 15

ΕΠΙΓΡΑΜΜΑ.

Οἷδε πάτρας ἔνεκα σφετέρας εἰς δῆριν ἔθεντο
 ὄπλα, καὶ ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκέδασαν.
 μαρνάμενοι δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ λήματος οὐκ ἐσάωσαν
 ψυχάς, ἀλλ' Ἀἴδην κοινὸν ἔθεντο βραβῇ, 20
 οὐνεκεν Ἑλλήνων, ὥς μὴ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες
 δουλοσύνης στυγερὰν ἀμφὶς ἔχωσιν ὕβριν.
 γαῖα δὲ πατρὶς ἔχει κόλποις τῶν πλείστα καμόντων
 σώματ', ἐπεὶ θνητοῖς ἐκ Διὸς ἦδε κρίσις·
 μῆδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐστι θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν, 25
 ἐν βιοτῇ μοῖραν δ' οὐ τι φυγεῖν ἔπορεν.

288. 2. οὕτως . . ἄλλως πως. Lit. 'nor while the people thought thus, did the relatives of the dead think at all otherwise.'

4. ὥς intensifies οἰκειοτάτῳ.

5. τᾶλλα may be subject to εἶωθε, but is probably adverbial, 'in all other cases,' i.e. at private funerals.

289. 16. The epitaph is omitted in the best MSS; and has little poetical

value. At the best it is full of obscurities, which it has been tried to remove by conjecture. In the third line the MSS. give ἀρετῆς καὶ δέματος, which would probably depend on βραβῇ, 'fighting, they (did not save their lives, but) made Hades impartial arbiter between their valour and their fear'—the meaning of which is not very plain. λήματος is generally read

these reasons they elected me and did not elect you. And it 288 cannot be said that, while the nation felt thus, the fathers or brothers of the dead, who had then been selected by the people to conduct the interments, thought at all otherwise; nay, when it was incumbent upon them to hold the funeral banquet in the house of the man who was most closely connected with the dead, as takes place generally in all other funerals, they held this banquet in my house. And with good reason. Each, in blood, was more closely connected than I with his own among the dead: but no one had nearer ties to the whole number. For the man to whom it was most advantageous that they should come home safe and successful, was also the man, who, when they suffered that which we deplore, shared most largely in the grief which was felt for all.

Now read for the benefit of my opponent the epitaph before 289 us, which the city chose to inscribe over them in the public name, that you, Aeschines, may know, even from its own words, your brutality and crookedness and depravity. Please read.

EPITAPH.

These men, for their country's sake, levelled their arms for conflict and routed the insolence of their adversaries; and, fighting to establish their valour and their spirit, they did not seek to save their lives, but appointed Hades as the impartial arbiter: fighting on behalf of the Hellenes, that they might not wear the yoke upon their necks and endure about them the hateful insolence of slavery. So their mother-country holds in her bosom the bodies of those who bore the stress of the toil. For the sovereign decree pronounced by Zeus unto mortals is this: to err in nothing and to succeed in all things is the prerogative of gods, but in human life he hath not granted that in any respect men should escape destiny.

for MSS. δείματος, after Valckenaer, 'fighting to show, or with, manliness and spirit,' but the genitive is hard. δείγματος has been suggested in the same place; but the genitive remains as difficult. To ease the case μνησάμενοι was proposed by Passow. Other emendations are ἀρετῇ δίχα δείματος (Jacobs), διὰ δείγματος (Göller).

ἔθεντο should mean 'grounded' or 'piled' their arms, as in Thuc. ii. 2.

δουλοσύνης may depend on either ζυγόν or ὕβριν. For θεῶν, here and below, Dind. has θεοῦ, retaining ἔπορευ for the commonly read ἔπορον. To get sense from the text we must make ἐν βιωτῇ mean 'in human life,' punctuating after κατορθοῦν, and neglecting the displacement of δ'—the subject of ἔπορευ being ὁ Ζεὺς or ὁ θεός. Instead of ἔπορευ Graef. conjectured μερόπων.

On the whole the evidence, both

- 290 Ἀκούεις, Αἰσχίνη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ, τὸ μὴδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν ἐστὶ θεῶν καὶ πάντα κατορθοῦν· οὐ τῷ συμβούλῳ τὴν τοῦ κατορθοῦν τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἀνέθηκε δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. τί οὖν, ὦ κατάρατ', ἐμοὶ περὶ τούτων λοιδορεῖ, καὶ λέγεις ἃ σοὶ καὶ τοῖς 5 σοῖς οἱ θεοὶ τρέψειαν εἰς κεφαλὴν;
- 291 Πολλὰ τοίνυν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλα κατηγορηκόςτος αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένου, μάλιστα' ἐθαύμασα πάντων, ὅτε τῶν συμβεβηκότων τότε τῇ πόλει μνησθεὶς οὐχ ὡς ἂν εὖνους καὶ δίκαιος πολίτης ἔσχε 10 τὴν γνώμην, οὐδ' ἐδάκρυσεν, οὐδ' ἔπαθε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλ' ἐπάρας τὴν φωνὴν καὶ γεγηθὼς καὶ λαρυγγίζων ᾤετο μὲν ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖν δηλονότι, δείγμα δ' ἐξέφερε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὅτι τοῖς γεγεννημένοις ἀνιαρῶς
- 292 οὐδὲν ὁμοίως ἔσχε τοῖς ἄλλοις. καίτοι τὸν τῶν νόμων 15 καὶ τῆς πολιτείας φάσκοντα φροντίζειν, ὥσπερ οὗτος νυνί, καὶ εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο, τοῦτό γ' ἔχειν δεῖ, ταῦτα λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτα χαίρειν τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ μὴ τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν κοινῶν ἐν τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων μέρει τετάρχθαι. ὃ σὺ νυνὶ πεποιηκὼς εἶ φανερός, ἐμὲ πάντων 20 αἴτιον καὶ δι' ἐμὲ εἰς πράγματα φάσκων ἐμπεσεῖν τὴν πόλιν, οὐχ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς πολιτείας οὐδὲ προαιρέσεως
- 293 ἀρξαμένων ὑμῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησι βοηθεῖν, ἐπεὶ ἔμοιγ' εἰ τοῦτο δοθείη παρ' ὑμῶν, δι' ἐμὲ ὑμᾶς ἠναντιώσθαι τῇ κατὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῇ πραττομένῃ, μείζων ἂν 25 δοθείη δωρεὰ συμπασῶν ὧν τοῖς ἄλλοις δεδώκατε. ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἐγὼ ταῦτα φῆσαιμι (ἀδικοῖην γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς), οὐτ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι συγχωρήσαιτε· οὐ-

internal and external, points to the conclusion that this is another forgery, perhaps by the same hand as the preceding documents.

290. 1. τὸ before μὴδὲν is omitted

by Dind.

6. τρέψειαν εἰς. But § 294 ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναθεῖεν.

291. 7. κατ. καὶ κατ., § 13 note.

10. ὡς ἂν, § 197 note.

You hear, Aeschines, even in this poem, the declaration²⁹⁰ that 'to err in nothing and to succeed in all things is the prerogative of gods;' for it does not ascribe to the statesman, but to the gods, the power of securing that those who struggle shall succeed. Why, then, accursed man, do you rail at me for failures, and why do you use words, which heaven visit on the heads of you and yours?

answer Aristotle not.

Many then, men of Athens, as were the other crimes with²⁹¹ which he has falsely charged me, I marvelled most of all, when, in speaking of the disasters which then befell our city, he was not heartily affected as a loyal and just citizen would have been; he shed no tears, he felt no such spiritual emotion: but, pitching his voice high, beaming with joy, rolling out his loudest tones, he fancied, of course, that he was accusing me, while in reality he brought forward against himself a telling instance that he did not at all feel in the same way as the rest of us about the painful accidents which had occurred. And yet one who professes, as my opponent now professes,²⁹² that he is concerned for the laws and the constitution, should at least have this quality, even if no other, that he has the same griefs and the same joys as the multitude, and should not in his choice of public policy have posted himself in the ranks of our enemies. This you have now shown yourself to have done, when you pretend that it was I who brought everything to pass, and that it was through me that our country fell into the midst of troubles—although it was not because of my statesmanship or my political principles that you, my hearers, began to help the Hellenes: for if this were granted²⁹³ me by you, that thanks only to me you withstood the despotism then in progress against the Hellenes, you would grant me a greater guerdon than the whole number of those which you have given to your other ministers. I, however, would not assert this—for I should be wronging you—nor would you,

14. τοῖς γεγεννημένοις. ἔσχε. For οὕτως ἔχειν in this sense see § 99. Here, as Fals. Leg. 50. p. 355 τραχέως δ' ὑμῶν τῷ μηδὲ προσδοκᾶν σχόντων,

the simple dative, without ἐπί, is the better supported reading.

293. 24. τῇ . . πρᾶπτομένη, § 71 note.

τός τ' εἰ δίκαια ἐποίει, οὐκ ἂν ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ
ἔχθρας τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὑμετέρων καλῶν ἔβλαπτε καὶ
διέβαλλεν.

- 294 Ἀλλὰ τί ταῦτ' ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλῶ σχετλιώτερα ἄλλα
κατηγορηκός αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεψευσμένον; ὃς γὰρ 5
ἐμοῦ φιλιππισμόν, ᾧ γῇ καὶ θεοί, κατηγορεῖ, τί οὗτος
οὐκ ἂν εἴποι; καίτοι νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πάντας
θεούς, εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας δέοι σκοπεῖσθαι, τὸ κατα-
ψεύδεσθαι καὶ δι' ἔχθραν τι λέγειν ἀνελόντας ἐκ
μέσου, τίνες ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰσιν οἷς ἂν εἰκότως καὶ δι- 10
καίως τὴν τῶν γεγεννημένων αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
ἀναθεῖεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς ὁμοίους τούτῳ παρ' ἐκάστη
295 τῶν πόλεων εὖροιτ' ἂν, οὐ τοὺς ἐμοί· οἱ ὅτ' ἦν
ἄσθενῇ τὰ Φιλίππου πράγματα καὶ κομιδῇ μικρά,
πολλάκις προλεγόντων ἡμῶν καὶ παρακαλούντων καὶ 15
διδασκόντων τὰ βέλτιστα, τῆς ἰδίας ἔνεκ' αἰσχρο-
κερδείας τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα προΐεντο, τοὺς ὑπάρ-
χοντας ἕκαστοι πολίτας ἐξαπατῶντες καὶ διαφθείρον-
τες, ἕως δούλους ἐποίησαν, Θετταλοὺς Δάοχος Κινέας
Θρασύδαος, Ἀρκάδας Κερκιδᾶς Ἰερώνυμος Εὐκαμπίδας, 20
'Αργεῖους Μύρτις Τελέδαμος Μνασέας, Ἡλείους Εὐξί-
θεος Κλεότιμος Ἀρίσταιχος, Μεσσηνίους οἱ Φιλιάδου
τοῦ θεοῖς ἐχθροῦ παῖδες Νέων καὶ Θρασύλοχος, Σικυ-
ωνίους Ἀρίστρατος Ἐπιχάρης, Κορινθίους Δείναρχος
Δημάρατος, Μεγαρέας Πτοιόδωρος Ἐλιξος Περίλαος, 25
Θηβαίους Τιμόλας Θεογείτων Ἀνεμοίτας, Εὐβοέας
296 Ἰππαρχος Κλείταρχος Σωσίστρατος. ἐπιλείψει με
λέγοντα ἢ ἡμέρα τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν ὀνόματα. οὗτοι

294. 9. ἀνελόντας ἐκ μέσου. Com-
pare Phil. iv. § 36. p. 141 εἰ ἀνέλοιμεν
ἐκ μέσου καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας .. καὶ τὸν
φύβον.

11. ἐπὶ τὴν, § 290.

295. 15. ἡμῶν, 'we loyal orators.'
For Demosthenes' supporters, and for
the traitors below, see Introduction I.

17. τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἕκαστοι πολί-
τας, 'cives suae factionis' (Schaefer),

I am well assured, concede it; but, if only my opponent acted justly, he would not damage and distort on account of his private hostility to me, the greatest of your glories.

But why do I censure this, when he has falsely brought **294** against me other far harsher accusations? For what, in the name of earth and heaven, would he not say who accuses me of coquetting with Philip? And yet, so Heracles and all the gods befriend me, if, having put false witness and angry words out of court, you must honestly inquire, who in very truth they are on whose head all would reasonably and justly lay the responsibility for what has occurred, you will be sure to find them to be those in each state who resembled my opponent, not those who resembled me—men, who, at the time when **295** Philip's fortunes were low and entirely insignificant, although we warned you again and again, and admonished you and instructed you in what was best, for filthy lucre sacrificed the national interests, each body of them deluding the citizens they had to work upon, and ruining them till they made them slaves—Daochus, Cineas and Thrasydaus, the Thessalians; Cercidas, Hieronymus and Eucampidas, the Arcadians; Myrtis, Teledamus and Mnaseas, the Argives; Euxitheus, Cleotimus and Aristaechmus, the Eleans; the sons of the apostate Philicides, Neon and Thrasylochus, the Messenians; Aristratus and Epichares, the Sicyonians; Dinarchus and Demaratus, the Corinthians; Ptoedorus, Helixus, and Perilaus, the Megarians; Timolaus, Theogiton, and Anemoetas, the Thebans; Hipparchus, Clitarchus, and Sosistratus, the Euboeans. The **296** whole day will fail me if I read the bead-roll of traitors. All

'quos capere poterant' (Disson). Probably the meaning is still more general, 'the citizens each set of traitors had to deal with.' A very ingenious, but hardly convincing, interpretation is,

'deceiving those who were free citizens to begin with, and working their ruin till they made them slaves.'

296. 28. ἡ ἡμέρα. 'The whole of the day.'

πάντες εἰσὶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν πατρίσιν ὥνπερ οὗτοι παρ' ὑμῖν, ἄνθρωποι μιαροὶ καὶ κόλακες καὶ ἀλάστορες, ἡκρωτηριασμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστοι πατρίδας, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν προπεπωκότες πρότερον μὲν Φιλίππῳ νῦν δὲ Ἀλεξ- 5 ἀνδρῶ, τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχίστοις τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, τὴν δ' ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν δεσπότην αὐτῶν, ἃ τοῖς προτέροις Ἑλλήσιν ὅροι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν καὶ κανόνες, ἀνατετραφότες.

- 297 Ταύτης τοίνυν τῆς οὕτως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ περιβοήτου 10 συστάσεως καὶ κακίας, μᾶλλον δ' ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι προδοσίας, εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, ἥ τε πόλις παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναίτιος γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν. εἰτά μ' ἐρωτᾷς ἀντὶ ποίας ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι; 15 ἐγὼ δέ σοι λέγω, ὅτι τῶν πολιτευομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι διαφθαρέντων ἀπάντων, ἀρξαμένων ἀπὸ σοῦ, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου νῦν δ' ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, 298 ἐμὲ οὔτε καιρὸς οὔτε φιλανθρωπία λόγων οὔτ' ἐπαγγελιῶν μέγεθος οὔτ' ἐλπίς οὔτε φόβος οὔτ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν 20 ἐπῆρεν οὐδὲ προηγάγετο ὧν ἔκρινα δικαίων καὶ συμφερόντων τῇ πατρίδι οὐδὲν προδοῦναι, οὐδ', ὅσα συμβεβούλευκα πώποτε τουτοισί, ὁμοίως ὑμῖν ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη ρέπων ἐπὶ τὸ λῆμμα συμβεβούλευκα, ἀλλ'

5. προπεπωκότες. In Fals. Leg. § 152, p. 384 ὁ Φίλιππος... τελευτῶν ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρὰ καὶ χρυσὰ προῦπινεν αὐτοῖς the word signifies 'to give away lightly,' meaning originally 'to toast a man in a cup of price and bid him keep it.'

9. ἦσαν attracted into the plural by the neighbourhood of the predicative nouns ὅροι, κανόνες.

ἀνατετραφότες (Dind. ἀνατετροφότες) is especially used of causing a

vessel to founder, as Plato, Rep. 389 D ἀνατρεπτικόν (τῆς νεώς), Aeschin. c. Ct. § 158 ἐάν τις... πλοῖον ἀνατρέψῃ, and the representation of the fortunes of a state under the image of a ship is constant in Greek. For the verb compare §§ 143, 303.

297. 12. εἰ δεῖ μὴ ληρεῖν, a rhetorical formula, cf. Fals. Leg. § 297. p. 425, Aeschin. c. Ct. § 143.

15. ποίας, § 76.

After τιμᾶσθαι the interrogation

these, men of Athens, were advocates of the same measures in their own countries as my opponents advocated in your midst—unclean things, and parasites, or rather ministers of destruction—men who have severally mutilated their own countries—men who have toasted away our freedom first to Philip and now to Alexander—men who measure happiness by their bellies and all that is most base—men by whom liberty and independence of any lord or master, which to the ancient Hellenes were definitions and standards of honour, have been wrecked.

*These charges
apply to the*

Of any share, therefore, in this dishonourable and scandalous 297 conspiracy and villainy, or rather, men of Athens, of this betrayal, if I must speak seriously, of the freedom of the Hellenes, our city has been acquitted in the opinion of all the world owing to my administrations, and I have been acquitted in your opinion. In spite of this, do you ask me, sir, for what sort of merit I consider myself worthy to receive distinction? Then I answer you, that when all the statesmen in the Hellenic communities, beginning with you, had been corrupted, first by Philip and recently by Alexander, no convenience, no blandishment of expressions, no magni-298 tude of promises, no hope nor fear, nor anything else, excited or even encouraged me to betray one of what I judged the rights due or the measures advantageous to my country; nor in all the advice which I have ever yet given to my hearers have I advised them, as you have done, verging like a balance

should probably be replaced by a period, as the reply is introduced by a particle: see § 318.

298. 23. ὥσπερ ἂν τρυτάνη sc. ῥέποι is explained by the passage, referred to by Dissen, De Pace § 12. p. 60 προῖκα τὰ πράγματα κρίνω καὶ λογίζομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν λῆμ' ἂν οὐδεὶς ἔχοι πρὸς οἷς ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι καὶ λέγω δεῖξαι προσηρημένον. ὀρθὸν οὖν, ὅ τι ἂν ποτ' ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπάρχη τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ συμφέρον φαίνεται μοι. ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ

θάτερα ὥσπερ εἰς τρυτάνην ἀργύριον προσενέγκης, οἷχεται φέρον καὶ καθεῖλκυκε τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ' αὐτό, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔτ' ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὑγιῶς ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς λογίσαιτο. The image is simply this: a balance must inevitably swing to whichever side you weight; so a statesman, who receives personal advantage from his public life, will as inevitably act in the interests of those from whom the greatest advantage comes. The self-seeking orator is

ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ
μεγίστων δὴ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἑμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων
προστὰς πάντα ταῦτα ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι.

299 διὰ ταῦτ' ἀξιῶ τιμᾶσθαι. τὸν δὲ τειχισμὸν τοῦτον,
ὃν σύ μου διέσυρες, καὶ τὴν ταφρείαν ἄξια μὲν χάριτος 5
καὶ ἐπαίνου κρίνω, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; πόρρω μέντοι που
τῶν ἑμαυτῷ πεπολιτευμένων τίθεμαι. οὐ λίθοις ἐτεί-
χισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγι-
στον τῶν ἑμαυτοῦ φρονῶ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν
βούλῃ δικαίως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ 10
τόπους καὶ λιμένας καὶ ναῦς καὶ πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ
300 τοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀμυνομένους· ταῦτα προῦβαλόμην
ἐγὼ πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ
δυνατόν, καὶ τούτοις ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν
κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεως. οὐδέ γ' ἡττή- 15
θην ἐγὼ τοῖς λογισμοῖς Φιλίππου, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ,
οὐδὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' οἱ τῶν συμμάχων στρατη-
γοὶ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ τύχῃ. τίνες αἱ τούτων ἀποδεί-
ξεις; ἐναργεῖς καὶ φανεραί. σκοπεῖτε δέ.

301 Τί χρῆν τὸν εἶνουν πολίτην ποιεῖν, τί τὸν μετὰ 20
πάσης προνοίας καὶ προθυμίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ὑπὲρ
τῆς πατρίδος πολιτευόμενον; οὐκ ἐκ μὲν θαλάττης
τὴν Εὐβοίαν προβαλέσθαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ δὲ
τῆς μεσογείας τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς Πελο-
πόννησον τόπων τοὺς ὁμόρους ταύτη; οὐ τὴν σιτο- 25
πομπίαν, ὅπως παρὰ πᾶσαν φιλίαν ἄχρι τοῦ Πειραιῶς

himself compared to a balance. Hence Dissen's reading ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν τρυτάνῃ is inappropriate. Dind. has ὥσπερ ἀνεί, τρυτάνῃ, where the ellipse would be supplied ὥσπερ ἂν [ρέπομαι] εἰ τρυτάνῃ [εἶν]. Cf. §§ 194, 214.

2. κατ' ἑμαυτόν, §§ 95, 317, 318.

299. 4. τειχισμὸν ... διέσυρες.

Aesch. c. Ct. §§ 97, 236 sqq., and also the words, which read so much like a later insertion, Id. § 84 Ναί, ἀλλὰ χαλκοῖς καὶ ἀδαμαντίνοις τείχεσιν, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι, τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐτείχισε, τῇ τῶν Εὐβοέων καὶ Θηβαίων συμμαχίᾳ, with which compare οὐ λίθος κ.τ.λ. below. For illustrations of the image see

to the side of lucre, but with an upright and just and incorruptible soul; and, as director of the greatest transactions of my day, I have conducted all of them soundly and uprightly. These are the grounds on which I consider myself worthy to 299 receive distinction. Further, this building of the walls, which you disparage among my acts, and the formation of the fosse, I consider deserving of thanks and compliment—and so they are—yet I put them on a footing far below my acts of statesmanship. It was not with stones nor with bricks that I, as a statesman, walled the city, nor do I attach my highest self-praise to such things; but if you will justly examine my means of fortification, you will find arms and cities, and extents of land, and harbours, and ships, and large supplies of horses and troops to fight on behalf of my countrymen. These were 300 the defences I threw before Attica, as far as was possible by human calculation; and with these I encircled our whole territory, not only the lines of the Piraeus, nor only those of our citadel. Nor yet was I worsted by Philip in my calculations, far from it, nor even in my preparations; but the generals of the allies and their forces were worsted by his good fortune. What are my demonstrations of this? They are clear and manifest. But I ask you to be attentive.

What ought the loyal citizen to have done? what ought he 301 to have done who with full prescience, zeal, and righteousness wrought publicly on his country's behalf? Ought he not, on the seaboard, to have secured Euboea as a bulwark to Attica, and in the midlands Boeotia, and in the districts towards the Peloponnese the peoples that bordered on that part? Ought he not to have provided for the convoy of corn, that it should be conducted along an entirely friendly coast as far as the

Dissen's note.

5. ἄξια μὲν .. πόρρω μέντοι, § 12.
For πόρρω in this sense of 'far below'
see Aeschyl. Eumen. 414.

11. For καὶ πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ τοὺς
.. ἀμννομένους Dind. conjectured καὶ
ἵππους καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς .. ἀμννουμένους.

12. τούτων = my countrymen here.

300. προὔβαλόμεν, § 97.

14. οὐχί .. οὐδέ = 'not only .. nor
only,' § 2.

18. τῇ τύχη, sc. τοῦ Φιλίππου.

301. 26. φιλίαν, sc. γῆν or ὁδον.

- 302 κομισθήσεται, προιδέσθαι; καὶ τὰ μὲν σῶσαι τῶν
 ὑπαρχόντων ἐκπέμποντα βοηθείας καὶ λέγοντα καὶ γρά-
 φοντα τοιαῦτα, τὴν Προκόννησον, τὴν Χερρόνησον, τὴν
 Τένεδον, τὰ δ' ὅπως οἰκεῖα καὶ σύμμαχ' ὑπάρξει πράξει,
 τὸ Βυζάντιον, τὴν Ἀβυδον, τὴν Εὐβοιαν; καὶ τῶν 5
 μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὑπαρχουσῶν δυνάμεων τὰς μεγίστας
 ἀφελεῖν, ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα προσθεῖναι;
 ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντα πέπρακται τοῖς ἐμοῖς ψηφίσμασι
- 303 καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πολιτεύμασιν, ἃ καὶ βεβουλευμένα, ὧ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐὰν ἄνευ φθόγου τις βούληται σκοπεῖν, 10
 ὀρθῶς εὐρήσει καὶ πεπραγμένα πάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ
 τὸν ἐκάστου καιρὸν οὐ παρεθέντα οὐδ' ἀγνοηθέντα
 οὐδὲ προεθέντα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὅσα εἰς ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς
 δύναμιν καὶ λογισμὸν ἦκεν, οὐδὲν ἑλλειφθέν. εἰ δὲ ἡ
 δαίμωνός τινος ἡ τύχης ἰσχὺς ἡ στρατηγῶν φαυλότης 15
 ἡ τῶν προδιδόντων τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν κακία ἡ πάντα
 ταῦτα ἐλυμαίνετο τοῖς ὅλοις, ἕως ἀνέτρεψαν, τί Δη-
 304 μοσθένης ἀδικεῖ; εἰ δ' οἷος ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν
 ἐμαντοῦ τάξιν, εἰς ἐν ἐκάστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων
 ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δ' εἰ ἓνα ἄνδρα μόνον Θετταλία 20
 καὶ ἓνα ἄνδρα Ἀρκαδία ταῦτ' ἀφρονούντα ἔσχεν ἐμοί,
 οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν ἔξω Πυλῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔτε τῶν εἴσω
- 305 τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐκέχρητ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄν
 ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ αὐτόνομοι μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας
 ἀσφαλῶς ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ὥκουν πατρίδας, 25
 τῶν τοσοῦτων καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς

1. προιδέσθαι usually takes a genitive of its direct object. Here τὴν *σιτοπομπίαν* is an instance of the subject of a dependent clause drawn by anticipation into the main sentence, and this makes the accusative easier. Schaefer quotes c. Con. § 17. p. 1262 τὰς ἀναγκαίας προφάσεις, ὅπως μὴ μεί-

ζους γίγνωνται, προείδοντο.

302. 3. τοιαῦτα, i.e. preservative measures, cf. § 140 note.

7. ὧν δ' ἐνέλειπε is impersonal, = ὧν σπάνις ἦν.

303. 13. εἰς... ἦκεν. But ἐπὶ... ἦκεν in the similar usage, Fals. Leg. § 34. p. 350.

Piraeus? Ought he not to have secured one portion of our 302 supporters by despatching auxiliary expeditions, and by moving and framing measures to a similar effect, I speak of Proconnesus, the Chersonese, and Tenedos; and to contrive that other places should be reliable as connections and allies, Byzantium, Abydos, Euboea? Ought he not to have detached the greatest of the forces that supported the enemy, and supplemented the deficiencies of the state? All this, then, has been done by my decrees and by my measures, which any one, who wishes to examine them without spite, will 303 find to have been both conceived justly and executed with all uprightness, and he will find that the seasonable hour for each measure was never neglected or ignored or sacrificed by me, and that none of all the means, which fell within the power and calculation of one man, was left unemployed. So, if the pressure of some providence, or of fortune, or the inferiority of our commanders, or the baseness of you who betray your countries, or all these together, did mischief to our main interests until they wrecked them, where is a Demosthenes guilty? No: had there been one man in each of the Hellenic 304 cities as true as I was at my post among you, or rather had Thessaly and Arcadia had each but one man holding the same principles as mine, none of the Hellenes, either on the further or on the hither side of Thermopylae, would have undergone the present distress; but all, in freedom and independence, 305 and with perfect confidence, would be living safely, surrounded by prosperity, in their native lands, made grateful for such

17. Before ἐλυμαίνετο Dind. has ἄμα. λυμαίνεσθαι, as §§ 267, 312, Fals. Leg. § 21. p. 347, is usually attended by an accusative. Another instance of the dative, however, is to be found Aristoph. Nub. 928.

τοῖς ὅλοις, § 28.

ἀνέτρεψαν, § 296 note. Vömel, after Dissen, reads ἀνέτρεψε.

Δημοσθένης, i. e. a man so far removed, as the world knows me to be, alike from δαίμονος ἢ τύχης ἰσχύς and from στρατηγῶν φαυλότης ἢ τῶν προδιδόντων κακία.

304. 23. ἐκέχηρτ'. Σ has ἐκέχηρηντ', which is kept by Vömel, who alters οὐδεῖς into οὐδένες: cf. § 23 note.

ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις ἔχοντες χάριν δι' ἐμέ. ἵνα δ' εἰδῇτε ὅτι πολλῶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐλάττωσι χρῶμαι τῶν ἔργων, εὐλαβούμενος τὸν φθόνον, λέγε μοι ταυτὶ καὶ ἀνάγνωθι λαβών.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ.

5

- 306 Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, Αἰσχίνη, τὸν καλὸν κάγαθὸν πολίτην δεῖ, ὧν κατορθουμένων μὲν μεγίστοις ἀναμφισβητήτως ὑπῆρχεν εἶναι καὶ τὸ δικαίως προσῆν, ὡς ἐτέρως δὲ συμβάντων τὸ γοῦν εὐδοκιμεῖν περίεστι καὶ τὸ μηδένα μέμφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν μηδὲ 10 τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην κακίζειν τὴν
- 307 οὕτω τὰ πράγματα κρίνασαν, οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἀποστάντα τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ πόλει, μισθώσαντα δ' αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐναντίοις, τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν καιροὺς ἀντὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, οὐδὲ τὸν μὲν πράγ- 15 ματα ἄξια τῆς πόλεως ὑποστάντα λέγειν καὶ γράφειν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων βασκαίνειν, ἐὰν δέ τις ἰδίᾳ τι λυπήσῃ, τοῦτο μεμνησθαι καὶ τηρεῖν, οὐδὲ γ' ἡσυχίαν
- 308 ἄγειν ἄδικον καὶ ὑπουλον, ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς πολλάκις. ἔστι γάρ, ἔστιν ἡσυχία δικαία καὶ συμφέρουσα τῇ πόλει, 20 ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὑμεῖς ἀπλῶς ἄγετε. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτην οὗτος ἄγει τὴν ἡσυχίαν, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποστὰς ὅταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ τῆς πολιτείας (πολλάκις δὲ δοκεῖ) φυλάττει πηνίκ' ἔσεσθε μεστοὶ τοῦ συνεχῶς λέγοντος ἢ παρὰ τῆς τύχης τι συμβέ- 25 βηκεν ἐναντίωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι δύσκολον γέγονε (πολλὰ

305. 4. After λαβών Dind. adds τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βοηθειῶν κατὰ τὰ ἐμὰ ψηφίσματα, and, instead of ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ, ἈΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΒΟΗΘΕΙΩΝ.

306. 7. δεῖ. The general proposition includes the particular instance; hence there is no need to alter the

present to the imperfect in order to answer more strictly to χρῆν § 301.

8. ὑπῆρχεν, 'it was ours,' more vivid than ὑπῆρχεν ἂν. For similar misnamed 'omissions of ἂν' cf. § 196 ἐξήρκει, § 248 θαύμαστον ἦν, and compare the use of the indicative in the

manifold blessings to you and all the Athenians by my means. That my hearers may know that I much understate my acts, for fear of heart-burnings, [*to the clerk*], quote me these documents, and take and read them aloud.

DECREES.

These acts, or acts like these, Aeschines, the honest citizen³⁰⁶ should do. Had they been successful, it was ours to be indisputably supreme, and, more than that, justly so; nay, even when they have fallen out adversely, we have secured that our honour, at least, is safe, and that none blame our city or her policy, but stigmatise fortune who ordered events so unkindly. He should not, mark you, isolate himself from the city's in-³⁰⁷terests, hire himself to our adversaries, and court the opportunities which favour the foe instead of those which favour his country; nor yet should he cast the evil eye on any one who has had the courage to propose and frame measures worthy of the state and to hold fast by them, nor cherish and nurse any offence one may privately have done him; nor, lastly, should he maintain an unrighteous and rotten quietude, as you, sir, often do. There is, I admit, a quietude just and³⁰⁸ beneficial to the city, which you, the majority of the citizens, honestly observe. That, however, is not the quietude of which my opponent is fond—far from it—but, having withdrawn at pleasure from public life, and such is often his pleasure, he keeps watch for the hour when you shall be sated with the monotony of one speaker, or when fortune has brought about some reverse, or some other disagreeable has occurred (and there are many vicissitudes in the lot of man);

apodosis of Latin conditional sentences referring to past time.

τὸ δικάως προσῆν. lit. 'and "justly" was added to it,' i.e. δικάως added to μεγίστοις.

307. 15. θεραπεύειν is still under the regimen of δέι, ὡν... κρίνασαν being

parenthetic.

17. Before βασκαίνειν Dind. has προ-ερόμενον.

18. ἡσυχίαν. Aesch. c. Ct. § 216.

19. ὑπνύλον is a reminiscence of Thuc. viii. 64.

- δὲ τὰνθρώπινα)· εἴτ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ῥήτωρ ἐξ-
αίφνης ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας ὥσπερ πνεῦμ' ἐφάνη, καὶ
πεφωνασκηκῶς καὶ συνειλοχῶς ῥήματα καὶ λόγους
συνείρει τούτους σαφῶς καὶ ἀπνευστί. ὄνησιν μὲν
οὐδεμίαν φέροντας οὐδ' ἀγαθοῦ κτῆσιν οὐδενός, συμ- 5
φορὰν δὲ τῷ τυχόντι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ κοινὴν αἰσχύνην.
- 309 καίτοι ταύτης τῆς μελέτης καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας, Αἰσχίνη,
εἴ περ ἐκ ψυχῆς δικαίας ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ τῆς πατρίδος
συμφέροντα προσηρημένης, τοὺς καρποὺς ἔδει γενναίους
καὶ καλοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ὠφελίμους εἶναι, συμμαχίας 10
πόλεων, πόρους χρημάτων, ἐμπορίου κατασκευήν,
νόμων συμφερόντων θέσεις, τοῖς ἀποδειχθεῖσιν ἐχθροῖς
- 310 ἐναντιώματα. τούτων γὰρ ἀπάντων ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω
χρόνοις ἐξέτασις, καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ παρελθὼν χρόνος πολλὰς
ἀποδείξεις ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ, ἐν οἷς οὐδαμοῦ σὺ 15
φανήσῃ γεγονώς, οὐ πρῶτος, οὐ δεύτερος, οὐ τρίτος,
οὐ τέταρτος, οὐ πέμπτος, οὐχ ἕκτος, οὐχ ὀποσσοσούν,
- 311 οὐκ οὖν ἐπὶ γ' οἷς ἡ πατρίς ηὔξανετο. τίς γὰρ συμ-
μαχία σοῦ πράξαντος γέγονε τῇ πόλει; τίς δὲ βοήθεια
ἢ κτῆσις εὐνοίας ἢ δόξης; τίς δὲ πρεσβεία; τίς 20
διακονία δι' ἣν ἡ πόλις ἐντιμοτέρα; τί τῶν οἰκείων
ἢ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ξενικῶν, οἷς ἐπέστης, ἐπηνώρ-
θωται διὰ σέ; ποῖαι τριήρεις; ποῖα βέλη; ποῖοι
νεώσοικοι; τίς ἐπισκευὴ τειχῶν; ποῖον ἵππικόν; τί
τῶν ἀπάντων σὺ χρήσιμος εἶ; τίς ἢ τοῖς εὐπόροις ἢ 25
τοῖς ἀπόροις πολιτικὴ καὶ κοινὴ βοήθεια χρημάτων;

308. 3. συνειλοχῶς, 'cum con-
temptu dicitur,' Disсен, who quotes
Aristoph. Frogs 874. Acharn. 405.
Compare συνθεῖς § 149.

6. τῷ τυχόντι, i. e. ἐάν τις ἰδίᾳ τι
λυπήσῃ § 307.

309. 11. κατασκευήν is especially
applied to buildings and similar forms
of 'fixed capital.'

310. 14. ἐξέτασις originally 'a roll-
call,' 'inspection,' hence 'demand,'
'summons,' as here and § 320.

15. ἐν οἷς is generally taken to mean
ἐν ἀνδράσι καλοῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθοῖς, the
plural being possible as referring to
the generic idea contained in ἀνδρὶ
καλῷ τε καὶ ἀγαθῷ; compare Catull.
lxiv. 146, and Mayor on Juvenal xiv.

then, seizing this opportunity for his eloquence, he starts suddenly from his quietude like a storm from a calm, and having his voice ready trained and a collection of phrases and sentences prepared, he strings these together with clear enunciation and no stopping for breath, though they are fraught with no benefit or means to any good end, but with disaster to some one or other of his countrymen and dishonour to all.

Yet, Aeschines, if this premeditation and elaboration sprang from a righteous soul, which had chosen as its aim the advantage of our native land, the fruits should have been generous, good, and wholesome to all,—alliances of states, monetary resources, provision for a seat of trade, enactments of beneficial laws, foils to our open foes. For all these things there was a call in bygone times; and the recent past gave an honest man many opportunities to shine: but in such rivalries you will be found to have taken no place, not first, nor second, nor third, nor fourth, nor fifth, nor sixth, nor any place whatsoever, at least for acts by which your country was aggrandised. What alliance of your negotiating has the city gained? What assistance has she sent? What acquisition has she made of gratitude or glory? What embassy is due to you? What ministry have you fulfilled by which the state has risen in honour? What domestic, or international, or foreign difficulty has been readjusted by you? What triremes built? What arms furnished? What arsenals created? Which repair of walls carried out? What cavalry raised? For what in the world are you serviceable? What-patriotic or large-minded relief have

241. It is easier, however, to render here 'on which occasions.'

16. οὐ πρῶτος. Dissen compares the last lines of the oracle quoted by the Scholiast on Theocr. xiv. 48:

ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ Μεγαρεῖς, οὔτε τρίτοι, οὔτε τέταρτοι,
οὔτε δυωδέκατοι, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ.

311. 23. διὰ σέ, § 285. The words are omitted by Dind.

ποῖαι, § 76.

24. τί. Observe the use of the neuter pronoun as indeclinable.

25. τοῖς εὐπόροις. . βοήθεια χρημάτων. Pecuniary relief to the rich as well as the poor would be given by such means as a fair adjustment of state

- 312 οὐδεμία. ἀλλ', ὦ τᾶν, εἰ μηδὲν τούτων, εὖνοιά γε καὶ προθυμία; ποῦ; πότε; ὅστις, ὦ πάντων ἀδικώτατε, οὐδ' ὅτε ἅπαντες, ὅσοι πώποτ' ἐφθέγγαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπεδίδουσιν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Ἀριστόνικος τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν, 5 οὐδὲ τότε οὔτε παρήλθες οὔτ' ἐπέδωκας οὐδέν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, πῶς γάρ; ὅς γε κεκληρονόμηκας μὲν τῶν Φίλωνος τοῦ κηδεστοῦ χρημάτων πλειόνων ἢ πεντεταλάντων, διτάλαντον δ' εἶχες ἔρανον δωρεὰν παρὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν συμμοριῶν ἐφ' οἷς ἐλυμήνω τὸν 10
- 313 τριηραρχικὸν νόμον. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγον ἐκ λόγου λέγων τοῦ παρόντος ἔμαυτὸν ἐκκρούσω, παραλείψω ταῦτα. ἀλλ' ὅτι γ' οὐχὶ δι' ἔνδειαν οὐκ ἐπέδωκας, ἐκ τούτων δῆλον, ἀλλὰ φυλάττων τὸ μηδὲν ἐναντίον γενέσθαι παρὰ σοῦ τούτοις οἷς ἅπαντα πολιτεύη. ἐν 15 τίσιν οὖν σὺ νεανίας καὶ πηνίκα λαμπρός; ἡνίκ' ἂν κατὰ τούτων τι δέη, ἐν τούτοις λαμπροφρονότατος, μνημονικώτατος, ὑποκριτὴς ἄριστος, τραγικὸς Θεοκρίνης.
- 314 Εἵτα τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν μέμνησαι. καὶ καλῶς ποιεῖς. οὐ μέντοι δίκαιόν ἐστιν, 20 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εὖνοιαν ὑπάρχουσαν προλαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζειν καὶ παραβάλλειν ἐμὲ τὸν νῦν ζῶντα μεθ'
- 315 ὑμῶν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τῶν πάντων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι

burdens (as § 102) or by voluntary public service (as §§ 99, 257, 266) or by benevolences to the state (as § 113).

312. 4. ἐπεδίδουσιν, §§ 171, 112 note.

5. After τὸ συνειλεγμένον εἰς τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν Dind. reads ἀργύριον. Aristonicus must have incurred a penalty which was beyond his means to pay, and therefore lost his ἐπιτιμία: cf. § 15 note.

6. οὔτε .. οὐδέν, 'neque hortatus es ad largiendum neque largitus es,'

Dissen, after Schaefer, who warns us here to give παρήλθες its technical sense as applied to an orator coming forward to the βῆμα.

8. πεντεταλάντων, 'who inherited the property of Philo, it being more than five-talents'-worth.' The MSS. divide πέντε ταλάντων, in which case we must construe 'inherited more than five talents of the property of Philo'—*χρημάτων* depending on *ταλάντων*.

9. ἔρανον = 'club money.' 'Money-

you given to rich or poor? None whatsoever. But, my dear 312 sir, though these were wanting, still loyalty and zeal appeared in you? Where, or when, in you, most iniquitous of men, who even at the time when all who ever yet spoke a word on the platform offered contributions for our salvation, and at the very last Aristonicus gave the money he had amassed to regain his civil rights, even then did not come forward or subscribe a mite? Not because you were poor—how could you be, when you have inherited the estate of your father-in-law, Philon, of more than five talents' value, and retained two talents of club-money as a present from the managers of the companies for the havoc you made of the Trierarchic Law? 313 But, that I may not drift from topic to topic and throw myself out of my present course, I will let these matters be. Remark only, that it is clear from them that you refused to contribute, not through lack of means, but because you were careful that no check should be given on your part to those in whose interest you direct all your public life. In what field, then, are you heroic? At what hour are you resplendent? Whenever anything must be done to harm my hearers, those are occasions on which you are most splendid in voice, most perfect in study, an actor of the first water, a stage Theocrines.

Lastly, you recall the good men of old, and you do well. 314 Nevertheless, men of Athens, it is not just to draw on your fund of kind feeling towards the departed, and in comparison with them to examine and contrast me, your living contemporary. For who in the world is unaware that towards 315

clubs' were formed at Athens, as nowadays, from which members could draw loans to be repaid in due season. δωρεάν is here added to indicate that Aeschines was released from the duty of repayment.

313. 16. νεανίας .. λαμπρός. Cf. c. Mid. § 131. p. 557 λαμπρόν οὐδὲ νεανικόν, and § 136 above, § 320 below.

17. For τούτων τι Dind. has τουτωνί. λαμπροφωνότατος, cf. § 260 ὅλο-

λύζειν ἐπέρλαμπρον.

18. Θεοκρίνης is unknown, but was traditionally accepted as a typical συκοφάντης.

314. 20. μέμνησαι, Aeschin. c. Ct. §§ 178 sqq.

21. τὴν .. ὑπάρχουσιν, § 71.

22. προλαβόντα, § 224.

315. 24. τοῖς μὲν ζῶσι .. φθόνος. Compare Fals. Leg. § 359. p. 441. Thuc. ii. 45.

- πᾶσιν ὕπεστί τις ἢ πλείων ἢ ἐλάττων φθόνος, τοὺς
 τεθνεώτας δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν οὐδεὶς ἔτι μισεῖ; οὕτως
 οὖν ἐχόντων τούτων τῇ φύσει, πρὸς τοὺς πρὸ ἑμαυτοῦ
 νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνωμαι καὶ θεωρῶμαι; μηδαμῶς· οὔτε γὰρ
 δίκαιον οὐτ' ἴσον, Αἰσχίνη, ἀλλὰ πρὸς σέ καὶ ἄλλον 5
 εἴ τινα βούλει τῶν ταυτά σοι προηρημένων καὶ ζώντων.
 316 *κᾶκεῖνο σκόπει. πότερον κάλλιον καὶ ἄμεινον τῇ πόλει*
διὰ τὰς τῶν πρότερον εὐεργεσίας, οὔσας ὑπερμεγέθεις,
οὐ μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν ἡλίκας, τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν παρόντα
βίον γιγνομένας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν καὶ προπηλακισμόν 10
ἄγειν, ἢ πᾶσιν ὅσοι τι μετ' εὐνοίας πράττουσι, τῆς
 317 *τούτων τιμῆς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας μετεῖναι; καὶ μὴν εἰ*
καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρα δεῖ με εἰπεῖν, ἡ μὲν ἐμῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ
προαίρεσις, ἂν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ, ταῖς τῶν τότε ἑπαι-
νουμένων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίᾳ καὶ ταυτὰ βουλομένη φανή- 15
σεται, ἡ δὲ σὴ ταῖς τῶν τοὺς τοιούτους τότε συκοφαν-
τούντων· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ κατ' ἐκείνους ἦσαν τινες
οἱ διασύροντες τοὺς ὄντας τότε, τοὺς δὲ πρότερον γε-
γεννημένους ἐπήνουν, βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ ταυτό
 318 *ποιοῦντες σοί. εἴτα λέγεις ὥς οὐδὲν ὁμοίος εἰμι ἐκείνοις 20*
ἐγώ; σὺ δ' ὁμοιος, Αἰσχίνη; ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς ὁ σός;
ἄλλος δέ τις τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα
φημί. ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, ὧ χρηστέ, ἵνα μηδὲν
ἄλλ' εἴπω, τὸν ζῶντα ἐξέταξε καὶ τοὺς καθ' αὐτόν,
ὥσπερ τᾶλλα πάντα, τοὺς ποιητάς, τοὺς χορούς, τοὺς 25
 319 *ἀγωνιστάς. ὁ Φιλάμμων οὐχ ὅτι Γλαύκου τοῦ Καρυ-*

1. ὕπεστι. Cf. ὑποῦσαν, § 36.

316. 9. ἡλίκας. Observe the attraction from the normal nominative to the accusative: cf. § 200.

10. ἀχαριστίαν might mean 'an unpleasing light;' but is more probably used in the later sense, common in Xenophon, of 'ingratitude.'

12. Before τούτων ('my countrymen') Dind. has παρά.

317. 17. κατ' ἐκείνους, §§ 95, 298, 318. Most MSS. add τοὺς χρόνους.

18. οἱ διασύροντες is the reading of the best MSS, out of which it is hard to extract what would be the necessary meaning—'in their time there were

all the living there sets an undercurrent, stronger or weaker, of jealousy, while not even an enemy continues to hate the dead? Therefore as this is naturally so, am I to-day to be critically inspected in comparison with my predecessors? By no means allow it. It is not just, it is not fair, Aeschines. No: compare me with yourself, or with anyone else you wish of those who have entertained the same principles with you and are now living. Look at this further point also. Is it nobler or better 316 for the state, because she remembers the services of past heroes, transcendent as they are—nay, one cannot declare how great—to fling those which are done for our present needs to the mercy of ingratitude and contumely, or that all who ever act loyally should share the esteem and the affection of these our countrymen? And undoubtedly, if I must after all say as much 317 as this, my policy and principles, rightly regarded, will be found to resemble those of the men who were praised of old, and to be identical in aim, while yours will be found to resemble those of the men who then maligned the good. For it is obvious that in their time also there were creatures who disparaged their contemporaries; and these praised the ancients, doing a malicious trick in the same manner as you. Do you 318 then go on to say that I bear no resemblance to the good of old? But do you, Aeschines? Does your brother? Does any other living orator? I, at any rate, say, none. But, good sir—to use no hard names—examine a living man in comparison with the living, and with the men of his own day, as we do everything else, poets, quires, combatants in the games. Because 319 Philammon was weaker than Glaucus of Carystus or some other

men who disparaged their contemporaries, and *such men* used to praise heroes of an older date—in the absence of a pronominal phrase such as οὗτοι δέ, or οἱ δὲ τοιούτοι, to introduce ἐπὶ νῦν. Hence Dind. seems right in avoiding the anacoluthon by the adoption, from other MSS, of

οἱ διέσπον μὲν.

318. 21. The mark of interrogation after ἐγώ should probably be replaced by a 'full stop:' see § 297.

23. ἵνα .. εἶπω can only refer to χρηστέ.

319. 26. Γλαύκου, victor Ol. 25, celebrated by Simonides.

στίου καὶ τινων ἐτέρων πρότερον γεγεννημένων ἀθλητῶν
 ἀσθενέστερος ἦν, ἀστεφάνωτος ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἀπῆει,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι τῶν εἰσελθόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄριστα ἐμάχετο,
 ἐστεφανοῦτο καὶ νικῶν ἀνηγορεύετο. καὶ σὺ πρὸς
 τοὺς νῦν ὄρα με ῥήτορας, πρὸς σαυτὸν, πρὸς ὄντινα 5
 320 βούλει τῶν ἀπάντων· οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι. ὦν, ὅτε
 μὲν τῇ πόλει τὰ βέλτιστα ἐλέσθαι παρῆν, ἐφαιμύλλον
 τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα εὐνοίας ἐν κοινῷ πᾶσι κειμένης,
 ἐγὼ κράτιστα λέγων ἐφαινόμην, καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς καὶ
 ψηφίσμασι καὶ νόμοις καὶ πρεσβείαις ἅπαντα διεκείτο, 10
 ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἦν οὐδαμοῦ, πλὴν εἰ τοῦτοις ἐπηρεάσαι
 τι δέοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἂ μὴ ποτ' ὄφελε συνέβη, καὶ
 οὐκέτι συμβούλων ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις ὑπη-
 ρετούντων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος μισθαρνεῖν
 ἐτοίμων καὶ τῶν κολακεύειν ἐτέρους βουλομένων ἐξέ- 15
 τασις, τηνικαῦτα σὺ καὶ τούτων ἕκαστος ἐν τάξει καὶ
 μέγας καὶ λαμπρὸς ἵπποτρόφος, ἐγὼ δ' ἀσθενής,
 321 ὁμολογῶ, ἀλλ' εὖνους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν τουτοισί. δύο δ',
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν φύσει μέτριον πολίτην ἔχειν
 δεῖ (οὕτω γάρ μοι περὶ ἐμαντοῦ λέγοντι ἀνεπιφθονώ- 20
 τατον εἰπεῖν), ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις τὴν τοῦ γενναίου
 καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου τῇ πόλει προαίρεσιν διαφυλάττειν,
 ἐν παντὶ δὲ καιρῷ καὶ πράξει τὴν εὖνοιαν· τούτου
 γὰρ ἡ φύσις κυρία, τοῦ δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἰσχύειν ἕτερα.
 ταύτην τοίνυν παρ' ἐμοὶ μεμενηκυῖαν εὐρήσετε ἀπλῶς. 25

6. οὐδένα ἐξίσταμαι. This is the reading of Σ, and Dissen draws the distinction 'jungitur hoc verbum cum dativo *cedere* significans, cum accusativo autem ubi est *declinare*,' rendering the words here '*comparationem cum nemine defugio*,' and quoting Soph. Aj. 82—

φρονούντα γάρ νιν οὐκ ἂν ἐξέστην ὄκνῳ.
 Dind. also adopts οὐδένα. Cf. c. Tim.

§ 184. p. 757. Almost all other MSS. give οὐδενί, which is defended by Shilleto, Fals. Leg. § 249. p. 411, who compares Ajax 672.

320. 6. ὦν (i. e. τῶν νῦν ῥητόρων) depends on κράτιστα.

15. For ἐτέρους Dind. reads ἕτερον, which has the best MS. authority.

After ἐξέτασις Dind. adds ἦν.

17. ἵπποτρόφος. The most magnifi-

earlier athletes, he did not therefore leave Olympia without his crown; on the contrary, because he fought better than those who took the lists against him, he received the laurel and was proclaimed victor. Do you in the same manner scrutinise me in comparison with our living orators, with yourself, or with any you choose out of the whole number—I flinch from none. Among these, in times when it was still open to the state to **320** select the best policy, when patriotism was a contest set publicly before all, I showed myself the successful speaker, and everything was ordered by my decrees, laws, and embassies; while none of your number took any place, unless there was occasion to do my hearers some despite. When, however, that which we deplore occurred, and there was a call, not now for true advisers, but for slaves to dictation, and such as were ready to take wages for treason against their native land and to fawn on foreigners, in that hour, you, like the rest of your faction, were at the post, a grand and princely competitor; while I was weak, I avow, but more loyal than you to my countrymen.

[Two qualities, men of Athens, ought to be possessed by **321** the naturally modest citizen—for if I talk of myself in these terms I may speak most inoffensively: one, that, when in office, he should carefully cherish the principle that demands nobility and supremacy for the state; the other, that, at every season, and in every transaction, he should preserve his loyalty. The last depends on his own nature: ability and strength on other things. This loyalty, then, you will find to have stayed

cent, and most expensive, form of competition in Greece was to train and enter horses for the chariot-races. Here the word is used metaphorically, and it is worse than unnecessary to introduce into the rendering any suggestion of 'a fine stud.'

321. 21. *ἐξουσίαις* can hardly signify, in the plural, 'opportuna mo-

menta' or '*δσάκις ἐξήν.*' In Aristot. Eth. i. 5. 3 *οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις* means 'those who hold office,' and this must be the sense here. Demosthenes says, at all times a citizen must be loyal in heart, and, when he may be in office, he must, further, be careful of his country's honour and prestige.

- 322 ὁρᾶτε δέ. οὐκ ἐξαιτούμενος, οὐκ Ἀμφικτυονικὰς δίκας ἐπαγόντων, οὐκ ἐπαγγελλομένων, οὐχὶ τοὺς καταράτους τούτους ὥσπερ θηρία μοι προσβαλλόντων, οὐδαμῶς ἐγὼ προδεδῶκα τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὐνοίαν. τὸ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς ὀρθὴν καὶ δικαίαν τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς 5 πολιτείας εἰλόμην, τὰς τιμάς, τὰς δυναστείας, τὰς εὐδοξίας τὰς τῆς πατρίδος θεραπεύειν, ταύτας αὖξιν,
- 323 μετὰ τούτων εἶναι. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἐτέρων εὐτυχήμασι φαιδρὸς ἐγὼ καὶ γεγηθὼς κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιέρχομαι, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνων καὶ εὐαγγελιζό- 10 μενος τούτοις οὓς ἂν ἐκεῖσε ἀπαγγέλλειν οἶωμαι, τῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῶν πεφρικὼς ἀκούω καὶ στένων καὶ κύπτων εἰς τὴν γῆν, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσσεβεῖς οὔτοι, οἱ τὴν μὲν πόλιν διασύρουσιν, ὥσπερ οὐχ αὐτοὺς διασύροντες, ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ἔξω δὲ βλέπουσι, 15 καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀτυχησάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐτύχησεν ἕτερος, ταῦτ' ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ὅπως τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μενεῖ φασι δεῖν τηρεῖν.
- 324 Μὴ δῆτ', ὦ πάντες θεοί, μηδεὶς ταῦθ' ὑμῶν ἐπι- νεύσειεν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τούτοις βελτίω τινὰ 20 νοῦν καὶ φρένας ἐνθείητε, εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἔχουσιν ἀνιάτως, τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε, ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν ἐπηρτημένων φόβων δότε καὶ σωτηρίαν ἀσφαλῆ.

25

322. 1. ἐξαιτούμενος, § 41. Ἀμφικτυονικὰς (Σ εἰς Ἀμφικτύονας), Aesch. c. Ct. § 161. The occasion however is unknown.

2. After ἐπαγόντων Dind. inserts οὐκ ἀπειλούντων.

323. 11. ἐκεῖσε. Cf. ἐκεῖ, § 287. ἀπαγγέλλειν. The present = 'in

with me in all simplicity. Look at my life. Not when my **322** surrender was demanded, not when they levelled Amphictyonic suits against me, not when they made me offers, not when they let slip my accursed opponents, like wild beasts, upon me, have I in any way betrayed my loyalty towards you. At once, and from the outset, I chose a straightforward and honest course of policy—to cultivate the distinction, the power, the glory, of my native land, to augment them, to be one with them. I do not **323** scour the public square, beaming and exulting over the successes of foreigners, stretching out my right hand and congratulating such as I think are in the habit of sending reports to a certain quarter; nor do I hear of the good fortune of the state with hair on end, groaning and bending myself down to the ground, as do these rebels against heaven, who disparage their city, forgetting that they disparage themselves in doing so, and turn their eyes abroad, and, where, by the non-success of the Hellenes, a foreigner has been successful, praise such conditions, and declare that we should be vigilant that they may remain unchanged for ever.

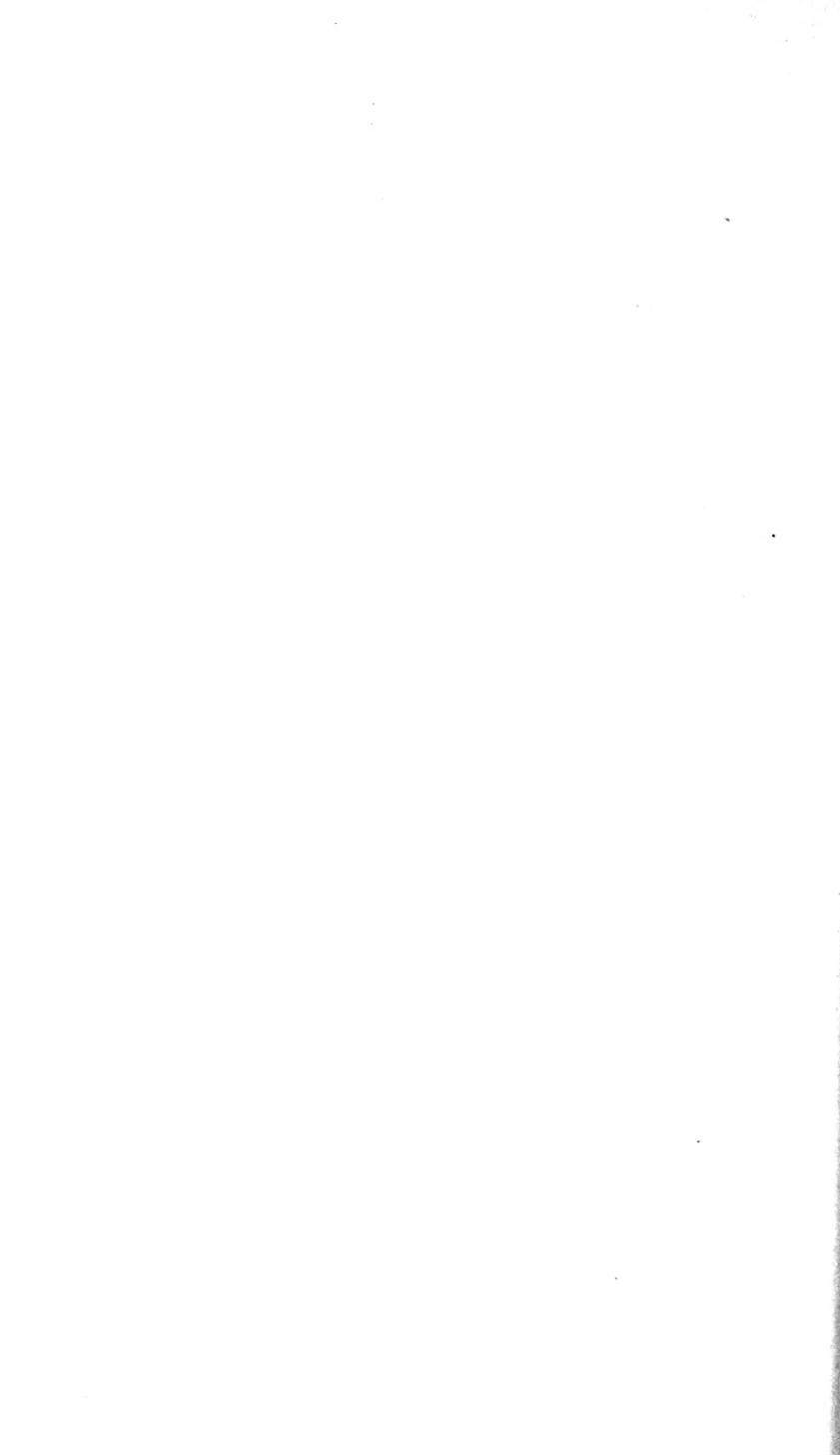
Forbid it, forbid it, all ye Powers of Heaven, that any among **324** you bow his sovereign sanction to this. Rather—dare we hope so much—we would pray you to implant even in these men a measure of better sense and better feeling. But, if it be true that they are past healing, then take them by themselves, and fling them to utter and early destruction, be it on land or at sea: and vouchsafe to the remnant of us the speediest deliverance from the fears that hang above us, and a salvation that shall stand sure.

the habit of sending intelligence.’
There is a less well-supported variant
ἀπαγγελεῖν.

324. 1. For the sentiments see § 89
note.

22. ἐξώλεις καὶ προώλεις. Shilleto,
Fals. Leg. § 190. p. 395 note.

23. ποιήσατε. There is a weaker
variant ποιήσατε.



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